

CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

AMERICAN ACTION, INC.

EDWARD A. HAYES, President, HAROLD T. HALFPENNY, Attorney, Witnesses

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE TO

INVESTIGATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Res. 645

A RESOLUTION CREATING A SPECIAL COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE THE ELECTION OF MEMBERS
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

PART 5

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1946

Printed for the use of the Committee To Investigate
Campaign Expenditures



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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INVESTIGATION OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1946

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES,

Washington, D. C.

EVENING SESSION

The committee reconvened, at 6:30 p. m., pursuant to recess, Hon. J. Percy Priest (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD A. HAYES, CHAIRMAN OF AMERICAN ACTION, CHICAGO, ILL.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a prepared statement, Mr. Hayes?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir; I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you may proceed first with your prepared statement.

Mr. HAYES. At the outset, Mr. Chairman, may I interpolate to say that I am particularly grateful to you and your colleagues for having deferred this hearing at my earnest request over the telephone because of my inability to get here by plane during the daytime.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we were glad to accommodate you to that extent, realizing that you did have some difficulty due to circumstances that you had no control over whatsoever.

Mr. HAYES. The fact is, sir, I was at the airport at 4:30 this morning. My plane was canceled when I got to Cincinnati, and I got to Pittsburgh and missed a second connection. This is the first time I could possibly be here.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, sir.

Mr. HAYES. Although my original schedule would have put me here at 11:30 this morning.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, my name is Edward A. Hayes. I am a practicing attorney, of Chicago, formerly of Decatur, Ill., where I was raised. After serving in World War I, I became active in the American Legion. I served as national commander of that organization, 1933-34. I was called to active duty in the U. S. Navy July 17, 1941, and was released from active duty in World War II, May 1, 1945.

Sometime in the spring of 1946, I was approached with the suggestion that a group calling themselves American Action wanted me to head their organization in the forthcoming congressional campaigns. I decided it was my patriotic duty as a citizen to do what I could, in politics, to protect our ideals of American Government, regardless of personal sacrifice necessarily involved.

American Action was incorporated as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of the State of Delaware on January 8, 1946. My interest was greatly enhanced when I found the basic purpose of this organization as set out in the charter to be as follows [reading] :

To promote methods and means to support and defend constitutional Government in America and especially to give all lawful support to public officials and candidates for public office who believe that the American constitutional system of government should be maintained and that the established American democratic institutions and way of life be preserved; to oppose all forces destructive thereto and do all lawful things necessary and incidental or appropriate to carrying out the purposes aforesaid.

It seemed to me in these troubled and uncertain times that this was a most desirable activity when the entire citizenship of America has so much at stake and such a real duty to perform.

So I accepted the job as national chairman of American Action as of August 15, 1946, although not officially confirmed by corporate action until September 10, 1946. However, I stipulated several things before accepting the chairmanship.

Among them were (1) no personal compensation from the organization; (2) that I should have complete control and execution of all political activities of American Action. This was agreed to. The officers, besides myself are: Vice chairman, Robert Christenberry, New York; secretary, Mrs. Neva Bethel, California; treasurer, W. Homer Hartz, Chicago.

American Action is an American, nonpartisan, nonsectarian organization dedicated to uphold and defend America against communism, fascism, anti-Semitism, and all alien or anti-American groups that are attempting to destroy our form of government and our American way of life.

American Action is a permanent organization. It will be organized in every State to oppose those enemies of our country, as well as those who innocently or for selfish reasons permit themselves to become collaborationists of those who seek to undermine and destroy our form of government, which for over 150 years has been the most liberal and progressive in all the world.

American Action is led by veterans of World War I and World War II. However, the committee is also composed of people from all walks of life, of all political and religious beliefs, and from all parts of the country. They are supported in the various States, to a large extent, by war veterans whose record of Americanism is of long standing. They are merely practicing what they have been preaching for many years. They fought our enemies from without. Now they are actively engaged, through American Action, in getting votes to oppose those whose tendencies they feel would destroy this country from within.

In addition, American Action will extend its full cooperation and assistance in the broad field of Americanism as set out in the programs of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled Ameri-

ean Veterans, Amvets, and all other truly representative American veteran patriotic and fraternal organizations, as well as all of our loyal people.

It is the policy of American Action to reach out to all possible committees, organizations, and friendships, and to all patriotic people in many groups, to endeavor to stimulate them to organize and actively take part in having voters register and vote in this present campaign.

In this sphere of activity, for example, we do not believe that PAC reflects the political views or thinking of the average American laboring man or woman. We are confident of support from many labor leaders and members in both the CIO and the A. F. of L., members of which have recently stated publicly their realization of the imminent danger of our way of life being destroyed by Communists and their fellow travelers.

American Action has nothing whatsoever to do with the foreign policy of this country. American Action encourages the development of doorbell-ringing activities within congressional districts for the purpose of electing to Congress candidates whose records leave no doubt of their unalterable opposition to Communistic and kindred doctrines in the United States. This means that in some districts we would hope that the people would elect Democratic Congressmen; and in others, Republican Congressmen.

Our receipts are all voluntary contributions from individual citizens; to date they total approximately \$100,000. Disbursements have been approximately \$86,000, complete details of which will be filed as required by law.

I want to personally thank the committee for this opportunity of appearing before it. We are proud of our program, our work, and of the patriotic support which we are receiving from the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Coe, will you proceed?

Mr. COE. Mr. Hayes, I take it from the statement that you have just submitted that American Action, Inc., was organized basically for political purposes; is that correct?

Mr. HAYES. My own connection with it, to answer as best I may, Mr. Coe, led me to the conclusion that the only kind of an organization that I would want to head would be one which would do what I have indicated here would be the policy of American Action. Now, whether it was originally conceived as a solely political maneuver, I do not know, but my answer to your question would be that it was my feeling when I took over that that was what the organization would be if I directed it; yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Regardless of the purpose for which it was formed, it is now basically a political organization?

Mr. HAYES. Since I took it over September 10, and technically a little while before that, actually we have intended that it should act and operate in congressional districts, developing doorbell-ringing organizations, as I have described; yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Is not the primary purpose the election of certain types of candidates to Congress and the opposition of certain other types?

Mr. HAYES. It will be if I direct the organization; yes, sir.

Mr. COE. That is your primary purpose, is it not?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Have you organized on an extensive scale? I mean by that, have you organized throughout the States—set up State-wide organizations?

Mr. HAYES. No, sir; in no instance that I know of is there a State-wide organization. There are some States wherein we have organizations fairly well under way, originated in about the last month.

Mr. COE. Let me go back just a moment. I want to get some information on the organization of American Action. Where are the present organization headquarters?

Mr. HAYES. At Chicago.

Mr. COE. Will you give us the street number, please?

Mr. HAYES. 1204 Board of Trade Building, Chicago.

Mr. COE. How large an office do you have?

Mr. HAYES. Well, there are two relatively small offices and one reception room.

Mr. COE. How large a staff do you employ or do you have at your headquarters?

Mr. HAYES. We have the assistant treasurer, a Mrs. Yeoppe, and the staff, a Miss O'Hara.

Mr. COE. They are the only staff officers besides the actual officers of the organization?

Mr. HAYES. The answer to that is "Yes." They are the only paid ones. There are some others who are volunteering their work there.

Mr. COE. Now, your statement says that this is a nonprofit organization organized under the laws of Delaware in January 1946, is that correct?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir; to the best of my knowledge. That has been given to me by my associates here, and I have seen the certificate of incorporation; yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Do you have a copy of it with you?

Mr. HAYES. I am not sure that we do have. I just got in here.

Mr. COE. I would like to have a copy of it filed with this committee, if you do not mind.

Mr. HAYES. I will be glad to have it filed with you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If we may, have that filed at this point in the record.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF AMERICAN ACTION, INC.

First. The name of the corporation is American Action, Inc.

Second. The principal office of the corporation in the State of Delaware is located at No. 100 West Tenth Street, in the city of Wilmington, County of New Castle. The name and address of its resident agent is The Corporation Trust Company, No. 100 West Tenth Street, Wilmington, Delaware.

Third. The objects and purposes to be promoted and carried on are:

To investigate, study, and analyze all laws, proposed legislation, and political, economic, social, and administrative processes, procedures, and actions affecting sound constitutional government and the established American democratic institutions and way of life; to inform, educate, and instruct the people in respect thereto; to promote in every lawful manner all measures dedicated to the fulfilment of said ends and conducive to the welfare of the Federal Government and to the governments of the several States and other governmental units; to promote methods and means to support and defend constitutional government in America and especially to give all lawful support to public officials and candidates for public office who believe that the American constitutional system of government should be maintained and that the established American demo-

ocratic institutions and the American way of life be preserved; to oppose all forces destructive thereto; and to do all lawful things necessary, incidental, or appropriate to carrying out the purposes aforesaid.

In furtherance of, and not in limitation of, the general powers conferred by the laws of the State of Delaware, and the objects and purposes herein set forth; it is expressly provided that this corporation shall also have the following powers, viz:

Acting through its National Executive Committee, its Executive Director and other officers, subject to the powers and restrictions of this certificate of incorporation and its bylaws, to do all such acts as are necessary or convenient to the attainment of the objects and purposes herein set forth, and to the same extent and as fully as any natural person might or could do.

To purchase, lease, hold, sell, mortgage, or otherwise acquire or dispose of real or personal property; to enter into, make, perform, or carry out contracts of every kind with any person, firm, corporation or association; to do any acts necessary or expedient for carrying on any and all of the activities and pursuing any and all of the objects and purposes set forth in this certificate of incorporation and not forbidden by the laws of the State of Delaware.

To promote interest in the program and purposes of this corporation throughout the United States and to aid in the formation of local organizations, incorporated or unincorporated, which will have purposes and pursue a program similar to the purposes and program of this corporation, and to have offices or places where the activities of this corporation may be carried on in all States of the United States, the District of Columbia, or in the Territories or Colonies of the United States.

In general, to have all powers conferred upon a corporation by the laws of the State of Delaware, except as herein prohibited or forbidden by the bylaws of this corporation.

Fourth. This corporation shall not have any capital stock and no profits shall be made or dividends declared to the members of the corporation or to any one else. The conditions of membership in this corporation shall be as stated in the bylaws of this corporation.

Fifth. The names and places of residence of the incorporators are as follows:

<i>Names</i>	<i>Residences</i>
C. S. Peabbles	Wilmington, Delaware
L. H. Herman	Wilmington, Delaware
S. M. Brown	Wilmington, Delaware

Sixth. This corporation shall have perpetual existence.

Seventh. The private property of the members shall not be subject to the payment of corporate debts.

Eighth. The activities and affairs of this corporation shall be managed by the National Executive Committee. The number of persons which shall constitute the National Executive Committee shall be such as from time to time shall be fixed by, or in the manner provided in, the bylaws, but in no case shall the number be less than three. The members of the National Executive Committee need not be members of the corporation unless so required by the bylaws. The National Executive Committee shall be elected by the incorporators at the first meeting of the corporation and thereafter vacancies therein shall be filled in the manner prescribed in the bylaws, and the members of said Committee shall hold office until their successors are respectively elected and qualified. The bylaws shall specify the number of the members of said Committee necessary to constitute a quorum. The corporation may elect such officers as the bylaws may specify, who shall, subject to the provisions of the General Corporation Law of Delaware, have such titles and exercise such duties as the bylaws may provide. The National Executive Committee is expressly authorized to make, alter, or repeal the bylaws of this corporation.

Ninth. Meetings of members may be held without the State of Delaware, if the bylaws so provide. The books of the corporation may be kept (subject to any provision contained in the General Corporation Law), outside the State of Delaware at such place or places as may be from time to time designated by the National Executive Committee.

Tenth. The corporation reserves the right to amend, alter, change, or repeal any provision contained in this certificate of incorporation, in the manner now or hereafter prescribed by the General Corporation Law of the State of Delaware, and all rights conferred upon members herein are granted subject to this reservation.

We, the undersigned, being each of the original incorporators hereinbefore named, for the purpose of forming a corporation to do business and carry on its activities both within and without the State of Delaware, and in pursuance of the General Corporation Law of the State of Delaware, being Chapter 65 of the Revised Code of Delaware, and the acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto, do make and file this certificate, hereby declaring and certifying that the facts herein stated are true, and accordingly have hereunto set our hands and seals this 8th day of January, A. D. 1946.

C. S. PEABBRLES [SEAL]
L. H. HERMAN [SEAL]
S. M. BROWN [SEAL]

STATE OF DELAWARE,

County of New Castle, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 8th day of January A. D. 1946, personally came before me, a notary public for the State of Delaware, C. S. PEABBRLES, L. H. HERMAN, and S. M. BROWN, all of the parties to the foregoing certificate of incorporation, known to me personally to be such, and severally acknowledged the said certificate to be the act and deed of the signers respectively, and that the facts therein stated are truly set forth.

Given under my hand and seal of office the day and year aforesaid.

M. RUTH MANNERING, *Notary Public.*

Appointed February 9, 1945; term 2 years, State of Delaware.

STATE OF DELAWARE

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

I, William J. Storey, Secretary of State of the State of Delaware, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of certificate of incorporation of the AMERICAN ACTION, INC., as received and filed in this office the eighth day of January A. D. 1946, at 11 o'clock a. m.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and official seal at Dover, this twenty-second day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-six.

[SEAL]

WILLIAM J. STOREY,
Secretary of State.

Mr. HARRIS. I wonder if Mr. Hayes would mind identifying his associates present here for the record.

Mr. HAYES. For the record I want to identify Robert E. Condon, who has been one of my advisers in organization work, formerly of Texas and now of New York.

Mr. Harold Halfpenny, an attorney of Chicago, who has been requested by me to check every legal detail and to see to it that all of the things that this committee or anyone else requires are filed for you; and I do not want to leave out my friend and former executive officer here, Mr. Geoffrey Creyke.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Coe.

Mr. COE. Mr. Hayes, you have quoted in your statement, "To promote methods and means to support and defend constitutional government in America," and so forth. Is that the corporate purpose set forth in your charter?

Mr. HAYES. The answer to that is "yes," sir: it is quoted from the charter itself.

Mr. COE. Do you have the charter there?

Mr. HAYES. I do not have it.

Mr. COE. I thought you were holding it up; that is the reason I asked you.

Mr. HAYES. No, sir: that is the statement I read.

Mr. COE. That is the corporation purpose, then, and the sole corporation purpose as set forth in the certificate of incorporation?

Mr. HAYES. I would have to look at the certificate to determine that. It is my understanding that that is basically what it is. We will file the certificate itself.

Mr. COE. Does the corporation have capital stock or is it a non-capital-stock corporation?

Mr. HAYES. It does not.

Mr. COE. So that there are no subscriptions of capital stock and no capital investments in your corporation at all?

Mr. HAYES. That is correct, sir.

Mr. COE. And, therefore, there would be no purchasers or subscribers to the corporation, to the financial structure of the corporation?

Mr. HAYES. That is right, sir.

Mr. COE. I understood you to say that you first became connected with it just recently in the spring of 1946.

Mr. HAYES. I officially took over the chairmanship on September 10, 1946.

Mr. COE. Were you connected with American Action prior thereto?

Mr. HAYES. I had been approached, as I indicated earlier in my statement, in the spring of 1946 to take over the direction of this particular organization.

Mr. COE. Can you tell when and where and the circumstances of the inception of this corporation?

Mr. HAYES. No, sir; I was not there.

Mr. COE. Do you know whether there were any meetings held of any groups, out of which this corporation grew?

Mr. HAYES. It would be hearsay with me, Mr. Coe. I understand there were but I do not know of them.

Mr. COE. Do you know of any persons that attended any such meetings, or who called any such meetings?

Mr. HAYES. It would be the same answer. I have learned that they did have meetings, but who were there and who called them I am not familiar with at this moment. I can get it for you and would be glad to.

Mr. COE. Can you get it for us?

Mr. HAYES. I can ask those people to send it in for you.

Mr. COE. If it is hearsay, will you tell us to the best of your knowledge and belief who the organizers were?

Mr. HAYES. Truthfully, I am not able to give you the names of the individuals who organized it. I believe that Delaware corporation record merely shows the names of the people that they used there, does it not?

Mr. HALFPENNY. They were dummy incorporators.

Mr. COE. Were the incorporators dummy as you have suggested and not representatives of the actual incorporators?

Mr. HAYES. I would not know the answer to that; no, sir.

Mr. COE. Do you know who the actual incorporators were?

Mr. HAYES. I think our records will show that, but I do not know offhand.

Mr. COE. What records will show it?

Mr. HAYES. Our corporate records.

Mr. COE. Do you have corporate minute books?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Do you know how many meetings are recorded in the minute books?

Mr. HAYES. Well, having looked it over hurriedly just once or twice I will say several, but I do not know just how many more.

Mr. COE. Will you make your minute book available for this committee's examination?

Mr. HAYES. Certainly, yes, sir.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

AMERICAN ACTION, INC., MINUTES OF MEETING OF INCORPORATORS

The meeting of the incorporators of American Action, Inc., was held on the 21st day of January 1946, at 11:00 a. m., at No. 100 West Tenth Street, Wilmington, Del., pursuant to a written waiver of notice signed by all said incorporators, fixing said time and place, as follows:

AMERICAN ACTION, INC., WAIVER OF NOTICE, MEETING OF INCORPORATORS

We, the undersigned, being all the incorporators of American Action, Inc., incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, do hereby waive notice of the time, place, and purpose of the meeting of the said corporation and do fix the 21st day of January 1946, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, as the time, and No. 100 West Tenth Street, Wilmington, Del., as the place of said meeting.

And we do hereby waive all the requirements of the statutes of Delaware, both as to the notice of this meeting and the publication thereof; and we do consent to the transaction of such business as may come before said meeting.

Dated, January 21, 1946.

(Signed) C. S. PEABBRLES.
 (Signed) L. H. HERMAN.
 (Signed) S. M. BROWN.

A recessed meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., was held in room 1236 of the New York Athletic Club on September 10, 1946, pursuant to notice. The meeting was called to order at 10:30 a. m. and the following were present:

Colonel Edward D. Gray
 Mr. Earl Harding
 Mr. Robert M. Harriss
 Mr. Merwin K. Hart
 Capt. Edward A. Hayes

A general discussion ensued in which it was more or less agreed that serious consideration should be given by each member to publicity. It was hoped that within 2 weeks sufficient work would have been done in the field to present a strong organization picture which was to be announced to the general public by paid news advertising about October 1; that it should start in the West, possibly Seattle, followed by Chicago, then New York, at intervals of 2 or 3 days.

It was recommended that no local charter or memberships be issued until after the November election.

Mr. Hart tendered his resignation as executive director and requested that it be made effective August 1, 1946. The motion was carried unanimously with addition of expression of appreciation to Mr. Hart for his fine services.

Mr. Hart made a motion, which was seconded and carried unanimously, that Captain Hayes be elected executive director and chairman of the national council, effective August 15, 1946. The motion was unanimously adopted, and Captain Hayes accepted.

Captain Hayes requested minutes of all previous American Action, Inc., meetings. Mr. Hart advised him that copies were in the process of being made up in his office and would be available. Captain Hayes stated that he desired to have and would call a meeting of the entire executive committee in the very near future and tentatively set October 16 at Chicago as the date for such a meeting subject to notification. Captain Hayes, in addition, stated that under his leadership American Action would actively take part in political campaigns; that since his plan would involve direct political activity steps should be taken immediately

to prepare and submit to proper authorities any and all reports required by law affecting political action. This was unanimously approved.

Mr. Hart made a motion, which was seconded and carried unanimously, that Col. Robert E. Condon, of New York, and Robert Christenberry, of New York, be elected members of the executive committee.

Colonel Condon moved that the bylaws be amended authorizing Captain Hayes as chairman to name one or more vice chairmen or members of the national committee. This amendment was seconded and carried unanimously.

Colonel Condon moved that the chairman be authorized to amend the bylaws, subject to ratification by the executive committee at any regular or special meeting. This was carried unanimously.

Captain Hayes announced the appointment of Robert Christenberry, of New York, as vice chairman.

Mr. Earl Harding tendered his resignation as second vice chairman. The motion was carried unanimously with the expression of appreciation of Mr. Harding's fine services.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 p. m.

_____, Acting Secretary.

A special meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., was held at 11 a. m. on October 16, 1946, at the Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

Present in person were—

Edward A. Hayes
Robert Christenberry
Robert M. Harriss
Mrs. Neva Bethel
Robert E. Condon
Merwin K. Hart
Edward D. Gray
Earl Harding

The minutes of the September 10 meeting were read by Secretary Neva Bethel. A motion was made by Mr. Harriss, seconded by Mr. Condon, that the minutes be approved as read. This was carried unanimously.

In the absence of the treasurer, W. Homer Hartz, who was out of the city, Attorney Harold T. Halfpenny gave a report of his investigation as requested by Chairman Hayes as to the financial condition of the organization. He reported that from its inception to the October 1 date contributions amounted to approximately \$101,000; expenditures amounted to approximately \$89,000, and there was a balance on hand of \$11,233.07. The financial report was unanimously adopted upon the motion of Robert Condon, seconded by Robert Christenberry. Mr. Harding, who had acted as treasurer under a special account through the formative period, stated he would forward all checks, bank statements, and receipts to the Chicago office to be available for audit.

It was the unanimous recommendation of the committee after complete discussion of the existing laws, to prevent any misunderstanding, although American Action was not actively engaged in any political activity until after Edward A. Hayes had accepted the chairmanship and although under strict legal interpretation the organization did not have the reports of receipts and disbursements for the period prior to engaging in political activity, nevertheless, to prevent any possible misunderstanding, American Action will file with the proper authorities a list of all receipts and all disbursements which occurred before it became a formal corporate entity.

Chairman Hayes read the statement that he had presented to the Special Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate Campaign Expenditures the day previous, October 15, 1946, in Washington, D. C.

A motion was made by Mr. Harriss commending Mr. Hayes' statement and recommending that it become part of the official minutes of the organization. This was seconded by Mr. Hart and the motion was unanimously carried.

A motion was made by Mr. Christenberry, seconded by Mr. Condon, that the organization, its officers and individual executive committee members give every possible assistance to congressional bodies seeking any possible information. This motion was unanimously carried.

A report was given as to the activities of American Action in the States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, Washington, California, Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. After a thorough discussion a motion was made by Mr. Hart that a resolution be adopted that American Action be a political organization aiding and assisting various local groups in congressional elections, as follows:

Be it resolved. That all endorsements either favoring or opposing candidates are to be determined by such local groups and that it be the policy of the executive committee of American Action that public announcement of the names of candidates that American Action is favoring or opposing be made only after such public announcement has been recommended by the local groups; that such public announcement when so recommended shall be in conjunction with the national chairman or vice chairman of American Action."

This resolution was duly seconded and was unanimously adopted.

It was moved by Robert Harriss that Lou Kessler, a Jewish leader, of Seattle, Wash., veteran of World Wars I and II, be placed on the executive committee. It was moved by Robert Christenberry that Ray Kelley, of Detroit, Mich., former National Commander of the American Legion, be elected to membership on the executive committee. It was moved by Robert E. Condon that William R. Callahan, a Democratic leader of Milwaukee, Wis., be elected to membership on the executive committee. The above motions for membership on the executive committee were seconded by Colonel Gray and unanimously carried.

Messrs. Lou Kessler, Ray Kelly, and William Callahan were introduced to the group. Each made brief talks of acceptance. Lou Kessler described the need for this group, led by veterans whose reputations are Nation-wide, to promote Americanism and to combat all subservient "isms."

A press release was read and approved by the committee.

Motion was made by Mr. Kelly and seconded by Mr. Kessler that the meeting be adjourned.

_____. *Secretary.*

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AMERICAN ACTION, INC., WAIVER OF NOTICE, MEETING OF INCORPORATORS

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And we do hereby waive all the requirements of the statutes of Delaware, both as to the notice of this meeting and the publication thereof; and we do consent to the transaction of such business as may come before said meeting.

Dated, January 21, 1946.

(Signed) C. S. PEABBITES

(Signed) L. H. HERMAN.

(Signed) S. M. BROWN.

The following incorporators were present in person: C. S. Peabbles, L. H. Herman, S. M. Brown, being all of the incorporators.

Upon motion, Mr. C. S. Peabbles was chosen as chairman and Mr. S. M. Brown was chosen as secretary of the meeting.

The chairman reported that the certificate of incorporation was filed in the office of the Secretary of State of Delaware on the 8th day of January 1946 and that a certified copy thereof was recorded on the 8th day of January 1946 in the office of the recorder of deeds of New Castle County, Del.

Upon motion, duly made, seconded, and carried, it was

Resolved. That the certificate of incorporation be and it hereby is accepted and that this corporation proceed to do business thereunder:

Further resolved. That the secretary be and is hereby instructed to cause a copy of such certificate of incorporation to be inserted in the minute book.

Upon motion, duly made, seconded, and carried, it was

Resolved. That the national executive committee of this corporation be and they hereby are authorized to adopt proper and necessary bylaws.

Upon motion, duly made, seconded, and carried, it was

Resolved. That the number of members of the national executive committee for the ensuing year be, and the same hereby is, fixed at 11.

The chairman stated that the next business before the meeting was the election of the national executive committee.

A. B. Gilland and S. E. Manuel were appointed inspectors of election and thereupon subscribed and swore to the following oath:

AMERICAN ACTION, INC., INSPECTORS' OATH

STATE OF DELAWARE,

County of New Castle, ss:

We, A. B. Gilland and S. E. Manuel being sworn upon our respective oaths do severally promise and swear that we will faithfully, honestly, and impartially perform the duties of inspectors of election, and will to the best of our skill and ability conduct the election to be held this day for members of the national executive committee of the above-named corporation, and make a true report of the same.

A. B. GILLAND,
S. E. MANUEL,
Inspectors.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of January 1946.

M. RUTH MANNERING, *Notary Public.*

The following persons were thereupon nominated for members of the national executive committee to serve for the first year or until their respective successors are elected.

Gen. Robert E. Wood
Samuel B. Pettengill
John T. Flynn
Upton Close
Earl Harding
Malcolm McDermott

Robert M. Harriss
Col. Edward D. Gray
Mrs. Neva Bethel
Merwin K. Hart
Harold N. Moore

No other nominations having been made, the polls were duly opened and all the incorporators having voted by ballot, the chairman declared the polls closed. Thereupon the inspectors canvassed the vote cast and made and presented the following certificate showing the result of the election:

AMERICAN ACTION, INC., INSPECTORS' CERTIFICATE

We, the subscribers, inspectors of election appointed to act at the meeting of the incorporators of American Action, Inc., held this 21st day of January 1946, do report that, having taken an oath impartially to conduct the election for members of the national executive committee, we did receive the votes of the incorporators by ballot.

We report that three votes were cast for the election of members of the national executive committee and that the following persons received the number of votes set opposite their respective names, to wit:

For members of national executive committee

	Number of votes		Number of votes
Gen. Robert E. Wood-----	3	Robert M. Harriss-----	3
Samuel B. Pettengill-----	3	Col. Edward D. Gray-----	3
John T. Flynn-----	3	Mrs. Neva Bethel-----	3
Upton Close-----	3	Merwin K. Hart-----	3
Earl Harding-----	3	Harold N. Moore-----	3
Malcolm McDermott-----	3		

Respectfully submitted.

(Signed) A. B. GILLAND,
(Signed) S. E. MANUEL,
Inspectors

BALLOT FOR MEMBERS OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN ACTION, INC.

Gen. Robert E. Wood
 Samuel B. Pettengill
 John T. Flynn
 Upton Close
 Earl Harding
 Malcolm McDermott

Votes in person: 3.
 Votes by proxy: --

Robert M. Harriss
 Col. Edward D. Gray
 Mrs. Neva Bethel
 Merwin K. Hart
 Harold N. Moore

(Signed) C. S. PEABLES.
 (Signed) L. H. HERMAN.
 (Signed) S. M. BROWN.

The chairman thereupon declared Gen. Robert E. Wood, Samuel B. Pettengill, John T. Flynn, Upton Close, Earl Harding, Malcolm McDermott, Robert M. Harriss, Col. Edward D. Gray, Mrs. Neva Bethel, Merwin K. Hart, and Harold N. Moore duly elected as members of the national executive committee to serve until their respective successors are respectively chosen in the manner designated in the certificate of incorporation and in the bylaws of this corporation.

The incorporators having completed the duties imposed upon them as signers of the certificate of incorporation, their association with the corporation was thereupon terminated, and, on motion, duly made, seconded, and carried, the meeting thereupon adjourned.

(Signed) S. M. BROWN,
Secretary of the Meeting.

Minutes of the first meeting of the national executive committee of American Action, Inc., held at 63 Wall Street, New York, on January 22, 1946, at 11 a. m.

Present in person: Messrs. Samuel B. Pettengill, Earl Harding, Edward D. Gray, Merwin K. Hart, Mrs. Neva Bethel.

Present by proxy: Mr. Malcolm McDermott (proxy Earl Harding).

Not present: Gen. R. E. Wood, John T. Flynn, Upton Close, Robert M. Harriss, Harold N. Moore.

Mr. Samuel B. Pettengill was appointed to act as temporary chairman and Mrs. Neva Bethel as temporary secretary.

The chairman presented a certified copy of the certificate of incorporation, as duly filed with the secretary of state of the State of Delaware, and reported that all filing fees, etc., had been paid and American Action, Inc., duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware.

The secretary then read the minutes of the meeting of the incorporators held on January 21, 1946.

The secretary then submitted and read a proposed set of bylaws, which were, upon motion duly made and seconded, unanimously adopted for and as the bylaws of American Action, Inc., said bylaws, so adopted, being those textually set forth in the copy, ordered to be annexed to and made a part of the minutes of this meeting.

The chairman then requested nominations for the offices of executive director, vice executive director, secretary, treasurer, assistant treasurers, and assistant secretary.

The following persons were duly nominated for the office set after their respective names:

Merwin K. Hart	Executive director.
Edward D. Gray	Vice executive directors
Earl Harding	
Mrs. Neva Bethel	
W. Homer Hartz	Secretary.
F. C. Thomas	Treasurer.
Helen M. O'Connor	
Gertrude M. Coogan	
Mrs. Constance G. Dall	Assistant treasurers.
	Assistant secretary.

There being no other nominations, it was regularly moved and seconded, and unanimously

Resolved, That the secretary of the meeting be, and hereby is, empowered and directed to cast a unanimous ballot for the election of the above named persons to the offices set after their respective names.

The secretary reported that she had cast such a ballot, and the chairman declared them duly elected.

Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, it was

Resolved, That a special committee, consisting of Merwin K. Hart, Samuel B. Pettengill, and Earl Harding, be, and hereby is, constituted for the purpose and with full power to select and appoint such other officers as to them may seem advisable to carry on the business of the corporation and to invest in them such power and authority as to this committee may seem appropriate, not inconsistent, however, with the bylaws.

The chairman then asked for nominations for membership on the national executive committee. Messrs. R. E. Minnis, Jr., Oklahoma City, Okla.; J. E. McDonald, Austin, Tex.; and James H. Gipson, Caldwell, Idaho, were duly nominated, and, by motion duly made and seconded, unanimously elected.

It was then, upon motion duly made and seconded, unanimously

Resolved, That the principal office of American Action, Inc., be at room 1149, 135 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

The chairman then submitted and read the meeting a declaration made and adopted at a preorganization meeting held in Chicago on July 31, 1945.

It was regularly moved and seconded and unanimously

Resolved, That the declaration of July 31, 1945, as submitted and read to this meeting, be, and hereby is, adopted as and for the policy and program of American Action, Inc., and that a copy thereof be affixed to the minutes of this meeting.

The chairman then stated that he would entertain a motion designating depositaries for the corporate funds and authorizing officers to sign in respect thereto.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the funds of this corporation be deposited in Lawyers Trust Co., subject to checks made in the corporate name signed by its treasurer or by its assistant treasurer, resident in New York, who are hereby authorized to make, collect, discount, negotiate, endorse, assign, and deposit in the corporate name all checks and drafts; and all such checks and drafts, payable to this corporation, signed as aforesaid (including checks drawn to cash or bearer, or to the individual order of any officer or officers signing said checks), shall be honored and paid by said trust company, without any inquiry, and charged to the corporation's account, hereby ratifying and approving all that the said trust company may do or cause to be done by virtue hereof: Be it

Resolved, That the First National Bank of Chicago be, and hereby is, designated a depositary in which the funds of this corporation may be deposited by its officers, agents, and employees, and that the treasurer and assistant treasurer, resident in Chicago, of the said corporation shall be, and each of them hereby is, authorized to endorse for deposit or negotiation any and all checks, drafts, notes, bills of exchange, and orders for the payment of money, either belonging to or coming into the possession of this corporation. Endorsements for deposit may be by the written or stamped endorsement of the company without designation of the person making the endorsement; be it further

Resolved, That the treasurer and the assistant treasurer, resident in Chicago, of this corporation are authorized to sign any and all checks, drafts, and orders, including orders or directions in informal or letter form, against any funds at any time standing to the credit of this corporation with the said bank, and/or against any account of this corporation with the said bank, and that the said bank hereby is authorized to honor any and all checks, drafts, and orders so signed, including those drawn to the individual order of any such officer and/or other person signing the same, without further inquiry or regard to the authority of said officers and/or other persons or the use of said checks, drafts, and orders, or the proceeds thereof. The signature of either one of the above is sufficient. Be it further

Resolved, That no power is conveyed by this instrument to any official to borrow money on behalf of American Action, Inc. Be it further

Resolved, That this corporation open an account with the Security-First Nation Bank of Los Angeles, and that until such authority is revoked by sealed notification to said bank of such action by the executive committee of this corporation, W. Homer Hartz, treasurer, and/or F. C. Thomas, assistant treasurer, be and they are hereby authorized, any one acting alone, to execute checks and other items (not including, however, promissory notes or other instruments for the borrowing of money for and on behalf of this corporation);

Resolved further, That this corporation hereby agrees to the conditions printed in the pass book, which is the pass book regularly and usually used by the said

bank, issued in connection with its account with the said Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles, and to the bylaws and rules of said bank as to all deposits and withdrawals made on said account and as to other transactions with said bank.

It was then unanimously

Resolved, That the executive director and the two vice executive directors be and they are hereby appointed to a charter committee, which is hereby constituted, which committee is hereby fully empowered to grant and issue charters or authorization for the organization and creation of State, congressional district, and regional organization, as authorized by the certificate of incorporation, the resolutions, and bylaws of the national executive committee, and to prescribe the powers and terms thereof, not inconsistent with certificate of incorporation, bylaws, and resolutions of the national executive committee of American Action, Inc.

On motion duly seconded and carried, the following retainers previously authorized by the temporary committee are continued:

	<i>Per month</i>
Merwin K. Hart-----	\$1,000
Col. Edward D. Gray-----	1,000
Mrs. Neva Bethel-----	500

There being no other business to be brought before the meeting, the meeting was adjourned.

Mrs. NEVA BETHEL, *Secretary*.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Our fathers founded this Nation on faith in Almighty God, from whom come the inalienable rights of man. This faith we reaffirm. These rights we will let no man destroy.

Our fathers limited the power of government. They divided that power between the Nation and the States. The national power they further divided among a Congress, a President, and a Court. They thus gave us a Republic—a government to serve us—not to order us and oppress us.

Our form of government, unique in history, enabled free men in a free land to speak their minds, choose their careers, own property, conduct enterprises, and worship their Creator in their own way. And our Republic, so constituted, released the energies of men in a march of progress which, both in peace and in war, has been the envy of the world.

In Europe men were subjected to the state, which strangled free private enterprise, suppressed liberty, and exalted war. As a result, Europe has returned to serfdom under fascism and communism.

We will not tolerate either of these alien systems, or any of their imitations. Yet their apostles have brought the class struggle to America. They have penetrated our schools, our press, our radio, our movies, and even our churches. They have advanced deep into the Government itself.

They have gone far in their plan to fix prices and wages, to regiment business, agriculture, labor, and the professions; to absorb insurance systems, control credit, and take over whole industries. Unless we prevent them from piling billions of postwar debt on top of our war debt, and from substituting the dole for jobs in private enterprise, America will be forced into that complete national socialism which we have given our blood and treasure to destroy abroad.

On the pretext of military need, these subversive forces have long been intimidating Americans into silence and inaction. But the time has now come both to speak and to act.

We propose to act

We Americans, who believe in *America*, are an overwhelming majority. United, we can still save our Republic. To this end we have organized American Action—

1. To restore constitutional government to America;
2. To end unconstitutional usurpation by any President and administrative officials of the power to make laws through bureaucratic directives, and to restore that power—including control of the public purse—to Congress;
3. To limit the period a President may hold office;
4. To end the Government's attempt to manage our lives under the false pretense of "security" built on debt;

5. To halt the march toward inflation and bankruptcy; to unshackle business so that it can expand and create jobs;
6. To restore the inalienable American right to free association for any lawful purpose, without intimidation or coercion from any source.
7. To restore respect for honest achievement and thrift; to face frankly the evils that have crept into our free system of life, and to eradicate the evils, not the system.

How we propose to act

We will give vigorous support to public officials and candidates for public office, regardless of party, who have demonstrated their fidelity to these principles. We will, with equal determination, oppose those who do not stand for these principles. And we will unrelentingly oppose all anti-American activities. We pledge these principles and this program our unfailing support, and call on all like-minded Americans to join with us.

A special meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., was held at 4 o'clock p. m., February 18, 1946, in room 7501, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Present in person: Messrs. Pettengill, Flynn, Gray, Harding, and Hart.

Present by proxy:

	<i>Proxies</i>
J. H. Gipson-----	Gray and Hart.
Harold N. Moore-----	Harding and Hart.
J. E. McDonald-----	Gray and/or Hart.
Mrs. Neva Bethel-----	Harding and Hart jointly.
Upton Close-----	Earl Harding.
Malcolm McDermott-----	Harding, Gray, and Hart.
R. E. Minis, Jr.-----	Or any two of them.

Discussion was had in regard to the date of public announcement of the program of American Action. Mr. Harding was authorized to confer with an acceptable advertising agency to have prepared such announcement, to be released when the services of the type of desired leader have been obtained.

It was recommended that the necessary bookkeeping forms and membership cards devised at a conference in Chicago between W. Homer Hartz, treasurer, and Miss Helen M. O'Connor, assistant treasurer, and approved by Mr. Cyril Talbott, representing Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co., auditors, be printed.

On motion duly seconded and carried, the meeting was recessed until Friday, March 1, 1946, at 4 o'clock p. m., at the same place.

MERWIN K. HART, *Secretary pro tem.*

A recessed meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., originally held February 18, 1946, was called to order on March 1, 1946, in room 7501, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, at 4 o'clock p. m.

There were present Messrs. Flynn, Gray, Harding, Pettengill, and Hart being, in conjunction with the proxies held and exercised by the members of the executive committee in attendance, a quorum of the committee.

Various matters were considered.

Mr. John T. Flynn tendered his resignation as a member of the committee, which was accepted with appreciation for his services.

The meeting then further recessed to March 11, 1946, at 4 o'clock p. m. at the same place.

MERWIN K. HART, *Secretary pro tem.*

A recessed meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., originally held February 18, 1946, was called to order at 4 o'clock p. m., March 11, 1946, in room 7501, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York.

There were present Messrs. Gray, Harding, Harriss, Pettengill, and Hart being, in conjunction with the proxies held and exercised by the members of the executive committee in attendance, a quorum of the committee.

Mr. Harriss expressed the opinion that some outstanding veteran should be selected as leader of American Action, Inc., and it was suggested that he undertake to find one.

There was considerable discussion, and the meeting then recessed subject to the call of the chair.

MERWIN K. HART, *Secretary pro tem.*

A meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., recessed from March 11, 1946, was called to order at 4:30 o'clock p. m. on March 28, 1946, pursuant to call of the Chair.

There were present Messrs. Gray, Harding, Harriss, McDermott, and Hart being, in conjunction with the proxies held and exercised by the members of the executive committee in attendance, a quorum of the committee.

After discussion, on motion duly made and seconded, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the principal office of this corporation be and it hereby is located at 135 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.; that this corporation's principal office in California be and it hereby is located at 215 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, Calif.; that Harold N. Moore be and he hereby is constituted and appointed this corporation's resident agent in California at said office in Los Angeles; and that the officers of this corporation or any of them are hereby authorized to certify to these facts in the name of the corporation. On motion the meeting recessed subject to call of the Chair.

MERWIN K. HART, *Secretary pro tempore.*

A recessed meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., was held Saturday, May 18, 1946, pursuant to call of the Chair.

There were present Messrs. Harding, Gray, Harriss, Pettengill, and Hart, being, in conjunction with the proxies held and exercised by the members of the executive committee in attendance, a quorum of the committee.

Mr. Pettengill submitted his resignation, explaining that he was to start the next day as a radio commentator and that in justice to American Action and himself it would be best that he withdraw from the executive committee.

On motion duly seconded and carried, his resignation was accepted with regret.

Mr. Harriss stated on behalf of himself and several members of the executive committee that Captain Hayes, former national commander of the American Legion, had been asked if he would take the leadership of American Action; that he was considering the matter favorably and that he was present as a guest of the committee.

Captain Hayes stated that he was unwilling to accept the actual leadership until sufficient funds had been raised that would insure the success of this important program for the benefit of America.

On motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the meeting recessed subject to call of the Chair.

EDWARD D. GRAY, *Secretary pro tempore.*

A recessed meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., was held in room 1705, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, on July 3, 1946, pursuant to call of the Chair.

There were present Messrs. Hayes, Harding, Gray, Harriss, and Hart, being, in conjunction with the proxies held and exercised by the members of the Executive Committee in attendance, a quorum of the committee.

The former assistant treasurer of American Action, Inc., at Chicago, Miss Gertrude M. Coogan, having resigned and her resignation having been accepted, it was moved, seconded, and carried that Mrs. Mary C. Yoopp, of Chicago, be elected an assistant treasurer of American Action, Inc.

On motion duly seconded and carried, the following resolution was adopted:

Be it resolved, That the First National Bank of Chicago be and hereby is designated a depositary in which the funds of this corporation may be deposited by its officers, agents, and employees, and that the treasurer and assistant treasurer in Chicago shall be and each of them hereby is authorized to endorse for deposit or negotiation any and all checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money, either belonging to or coming into the possession of this corporation. Endorsements for deposit may be by the written or stamped endorsement of the company without designation of the person making the endorsement. Be it further

Resolved, That the treasurer or the assistant treasurer in Chicago of this corporation is authorized to sign any and all checks, drafts, and orders, including orders or directions in informal or letter form, against any funds at any time standing to the credit of this corporation with the said bank, and/or against any account of this corporation with the said bank, and that the said bank hereby is authorized to honor any and all checks, drafts, and orders so signed, including those drawn to the individual order of any such officer and/or other person sign-

ing the same, without further inquiry or regard to the authority of said officers and/or other persons or the use of said checks, drafts and orders, or the proceeds thereof."

On motion duly seconded and carried, the meeting recessed subject to call of the Chair.

EDWARD D. GRAY, *Secretary pro tem.*

A recessed meeting of the executive committee of American Action, Inc., was held in room 7501, Empire State Building, on Wednesday, July 31, 1946, at 3 o'clock p. m., pursuant to due notice.

There were present Messrs. Hayes, Harding, Harriss, and Hart being, in conjunction with the proxies duly held and exercised by the members of the executive committee in attendance, a quorum of the committee.

On motion duly seconded and carried, the following resolution was duly adopted:

Resolved, That the executive director, either of the two vice executive directors, the treasurer, the secretary, or the assistant secretary of this corporation, be and they are hereby authorized and empowered for and in the name and on behalf of this corporation to take any and all such steps, and to do any and all such things, as may be necessary, required, and appropriate for, or in connection with, the purchase, acquisition, acceptance, handling, pledging, sale, or other disposition of stocks, bonds, and other securities and property belonging to the corporation or pertaining to its business, including the execution and delivery for and in the name and on behalf of this corporation of any and all endorsements, transfers, and assignments of certificates of stock, bonds, or other securities standing in the name of this corporation, either for the purpose of sale or transfer, and all such other steps and action as may be necessary or proper in connection therewith."

The resignation of Mr. Upton Close as a member of the executive committee was presented, and on motion duly seconded and carried. Mr. Upton Close's resignation was accepted with full appreciation of his services in connection with the founding of American Action.

Other matters were discussed, and on motion the meeting was recessed subject to call of the Chair.

EDWARD D. GRAY, *Secretary pro tem.*

Mr. HAYES. Certainly, yes, sir.

Mr. COE. I assume that you do not have it here?

Mr. HAYES. That is right, sir; I do not have it here.

Mr. COE. Now, your statement says that you were approached with the suggestion. By whom were you approached?

Mr. HAYES. I believe the first person with whom I talked—I may be in error about this—but I believe I talked with Mr. Robert Harris, of New York, and Mr. Robert Condon, of New York, who is back of me here.

Mr. COE. Can you tell us who are the members of the directing body, or if there is a directing body, board of directors, or other body that directs the activities of your organization?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir; there is an executive committee, or advisory council which will meet in Chicago tomorrow.

Mr. COE. Executive council, is that what you call it?

Mr. HAYES. National council I believe is the technical name under this formation.

Mr. COE. Is that the guiding organization or the guiding directorate?

Mr. HAYES. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Of whom is that composed?

Mr. HAYES. I have just been handed a list here, which I take to be accurate, of Edward A. Hayes, Robert Christenberry, Gen. Robert E. Wood, Earl Harding, Malcolm McDermott, Robert M. Harriss, Edward D. Gray, Mrs. Neva Bethel, Merwin K. Hart, Harold W.

Moore, R. E. Minnis, Jr., J. E. McDonald, James H. Gipson, and Robert E. Condon.

Mr. COE. Now, does your list contain the addresses of these persons?

Mr. HAYES. Not entirely.

Mr. COE. Will you file a list with the committee, please, with the addresses, at this point?

Mr. HAYES. Yes; it will be filed with you.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN ACTION, INC., AS OF OCTOBER 16, 1946

Edward A. Hayes, chairman, 1204 Board of Trade Building, Chicago 4, Ill.

Robert Christenberry, vice chairman, Hotel Astor, New York, N. Y.

Robert E. Condon, 1204 Board of Trade Building, Chicago 4, Ill.

Mrs. Neva Bethel, 2200 Leavenworth Avenue, San Francisco 11, Calif.

Robert M. Harriss, 60 Beaver Street, New York, N. Y.

Lou Kessler, 600 Broadway, Seattle 22, Wash.

Edward D. Gray, 112 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

James H. Gipson, Caldwell Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho.

W. Homer Hartz, 8 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Merwin K. Hart, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

William R. Callahan, 3043 North Hackett Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.

Harold N. Moore, 475 Twentieth Street, Santa Monica, Calif.

Earl Harding, 31 West Twelfth Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Raymond Kelly, 18073 Fairfield Avenue, Detroit 21, Mich.

Robert E. Wood, 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Malcolm McDermott, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

James E. McDonald, Commissioner of Agriculture, Austin, Tex.

R. E. Minnis, Jr., Wichita, Kans.

Mr. COE. How are these members of your national council selected?

Mr. HAYES. I can give only my own experience, which is based on the meeting of September 10, at which I was elected. The name of Mr. Robert Christenberry was suggested there, and it was approved by the committee, and upon his acceptance, which was later received, he became a member of the executive committee. He is also the vice chairman of this organization.

Mr. COE. Does your charter or do your bylaws provide for the organization of a national council?

Mr. HAYES. It is my memory they do.

Mr. COE. Your counsel may be able to answer that question. And what duties or functions are provided for in this national council by your bylaws or your charter?

Mr. HAYES. I would have to examine it, truthfully.

Mr. COE. All I want to know is the set-up of your organization and how the council is formed and what its duties and functions are. If you can tell without referring to the charter or the bylaws, you may tell; but you seem a little hazy as to how these persons were selected to serve on the national council.

Mr. HAYES. I am. I just took over the organization. I want to repeat that I do not want to withhold anything from you. I have been on since the 10th of September, and most of my time has been spent in traveling since that time. I know that they are going to meet tomorrow in Chicago, and they will be apprised of everything that is being done, that has been done, and will be asked to approve or disapprove and direct what action will be taken.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Hayes if counsel who is with him is familiar with the organizational set-up as outlined in the charter and which counsel helped prepare the charter and got it approved, and so forth. Is he here with you?

Mr. HAYES. I think that my counsel is familiar with the charter, but I am sure that he did not have anything to do with the preparation of the charter. I ask, Mr. Chairman, if that be permissible—that counsel be sworn and answer the question that has been asked.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

**STATEMENT OF HAROLD T. HALFPENNY, ATTORNEY AT LAW,
111 WEST WASHINGTON, CHICAGO, ILL.**

Mr. HALFPENNY. What was the question?

Mr. COE. The thing that we were inquiring about, Mr. Halfpenny, is whether the charter and bylaws provided for the election or formation of this national council, and if so, what the provisions of the bylaws of the charter are respecting the organization.

Mr. HALFPENNY. In answer to that, the charter does provide that, and it provides that the activities and the affairs of the corporation shall be managed by a national executive committee. The number of persons who shall constitute the national executive committee shall from time to time be fixed by, or in the manner provided by the bylaws, but in no case shall the number be less than three.

Mr. COE. Does it provide the form of election to that national council—the executive council?

Mr. HALFPENNY. Only to this extent: The national executive committee shall be elected by the incorporators at the first meeting of the corporation, and thereafter vacancies therein shall be filled in the manner prescribed in the bylaws, and the bylaws shall specify the number of members of the said committee necessary to constitute a quorum. They have been operating on the basis of a committee of 11, and if anyone resigns, that vacancy is then filled by the desire of the group as a whole. They invite someone in and decide whether they should be a member.

Mr. COE. Well, the original executive council then was elected by the original incorporators?

Mr. HALFPENNY. That is correct.

Mr. COE. And the names of the incorporators on your certificate are dummy names for the purpose of organizing in Delaware?

Mr. HALFPENNY. That is right.

Mr. COE. Do you know who the actual incorporators were; not the dummy incorporators?

Mr. HALFPENNY. That information I do not have here with me.

Mr. COE. You do not know who they were?

Mr. HALFPENNY. They were primarily the same ones that have been mentioned here. There have been some changes during the summer when Mr. Hayes took over.

Mr. COE. How many incorporators were there?

Mr. HALFPENNY. Three.

Mr. COE. And you say that they were the same ones that Mr. Hayes mentioned?

Mr. HALFPENNY. No; then the incorporators selected a board.

Mr. COE. I understand that, but I am asking who the three incorporators were. You have given the fact that they are dummies.

Mr. HALFPENNY. I can give you those names, I think. There was a party by the name of C. S. Peables.

Mr. COE. You are speaking now of the real parties at interest and not the dummies.

Mr. HALFPENNY. You asked for the original incorporators.

Mr. COE. I want the actual incorporators, not the dummy incorporators. The dummy incorporators act in behalf of some other incorporators back in some other State.

Mr. HALFPENNY. I came at the request of Mr. Hayes, and in no place in the record would that be disclosed.

Mr. COE. Would your corporate minutes show that?

Mr. HALFPENNY. No; they would not because the incorporation papers merely require the incorporators—

Mr. COE. Was there a corporation agreement among the incorporators, if you know?

Mr. HALFPENNY. There was not. As far as I know, from examining the records, this corporation was incorporated by a law firm in New York.

Mr. COE. You were not connected with it at all at the time of its incorporation and you cannot tell who the actual incorporators were?

Mr. HALFPENNY. That I cannot. The records will show. I only became connected with this at Mr. Hayes' request a few days ago.

Mr. COE. Do your bylaws specify the functions of this national executive council?

Mr. HALFPENNY. That is right.

Mr. COE. I understand you are going to file with the committee a copy of the constitution and bylaws.

Mr. HALFPENNY. We will file a certified copy of those with the committee.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

AMERICAN ACTION, INC., BYLAWS

The Incorporators and Founder Members of American Action, Inc., hereby adopt the following Code and Bylaws for its regulation and conduct:

ARTICLE I. MEMBERS

SECTION 1. *Qualifications.* Members of American Action, Inc. must be citizens of the United States of America, and each member, with the exception of the Founder Members, must be approved and elected by the National Executive Committee.

SEC. 2. *Classes of Members.* Membership in this organization shall be divided into five classes, said classification to be determined as follows:

(a) *Founder Members.*—This class is to consist of the original organizers of the organization who shall be elected by the incorporators at the first meeting as members of the National Executive Committee and shall be not less than ten in number, and their successors, chosen as herein provided, and such Founder Members shall pay annual membership dues of not less than Ten Dollars per annum as shall from time to time be fixed by the National Executive Committee. They shall have the sole and exclusive voting rights, as members, on any and all issues or matters of whatsoever kind, nature or description pertaining to the organization of American Action, Inc., or the conduct thereof, upon which a vote must or may be had. In the event of any vacancy occurring among the Founder Members through the death, resignation, or incapacity of any such Founder Member or Members, then the remain-

ing Founder Members shall elect a member of the organization to fill such vacancy. A majority vote of the Founder Members cast at a meeting of the Founder Members shall be necessary to elect a member to fill such vacancy. Notice of such election shall be given to each Founder Member a reasonable time in advance of such meeting.

The Founder Members shall hold an annual meeting on the fifteenth day of January in each year. A quorum of the Founder Members shall consist of five members thereof.

Action of a majority of the Founder Members, present in person or by proxy, at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall constitute the action of the Founder Members.

When less than a quorum is present, the members present may adjourn the meeting to any time and place and no notice of such adjournment shall be required.

The Founder Members may adopt such rules and regulations for the conduct of its meetings as it may deem proper and said Founder Members may elect a chairman.

Such meetings shall be held in the City of Chicago, or at any such other place as may be determined by the majority of the Founder Members. At such meetings the general subject of the national policy of the organization, problems of the State and Congressional District Organizations, and other problems confronting the organization may be discussed, including recommendations made by the State or District Executive Committee to the National Executive Committee or to the Founder Members.

In its discretion the Founder Members may call a special meeting at any time.

Notice of the time and place of any meeting of Founder Members, containing a statement of the purpose or purposes for such meeting (unless such meeting should be the annual meeting, in which case it shall not be necessary to set forth the purposes thereof), shall be mailed to each Founder Member, addressed to him at his address as it appears on the books or records of American Action, Inc., not less than fifteen nor more than thirty days before the date on which the meeting shall be held.

Every Founder Member shall be entitled to one vote. A Founder Member may vote by proxy provided that the instrument authorizing such proxy to act shall have been executed by the member or by his duly authorized attorney; but no proxy shall be voted after the expiration of eleven months after the date of its execution, unless the member executing it shall specify therein its duration. At all meetings the vote shall be *riva voce* unless otherwise directed by the presiding officer or unless a record vote is demanded by a qualified voter.

(b) *Sustaining Members*.—The Sustaining Members shall contribute the amount of One Hundred Dollars a year.

(c) *Supporting Members*.—The Supporting Members shall contribute the amount of Twenty-five Dollars a year.

(d) *Contributing Members*.—The Contributing Members shall contribute the amount of Ten Dollars a year.

(e) *Regular Members*.—The Regular Members shall contribute the amount of Five Dollars a year.

None of the last four classes of members shall have the right to vote on any question or issue of whatsoever kind, nature, and description affecting the organization or its activities and affairs.

SEC. 3. *Duties of Members*. Members shall assist in all practical ways the program of the National Organization and of the State and Congressional District Organizations to which such member belongs.

SEC. 4. *Resignation or Removal of Members*. Any member of any class, including members of any State or Congressional District Organization, as well as of the National Organization, may resign at any time or may be removed by a vote of a majority of the members, present at any meeting, of the National Executive Committee, and any member of any State or Congressional District Organization may also be removed by a vote of a majority of the members present at any meeting of the Executive Committee of the State or Congressional District in which he resides.

ARTICLE II. COMMITTEES

SECTION 1. *National Executive Committee*. As provided by Article Eighth of the Articles of Incorporation of American Action, Inc., the activities and affairs of the organization shall be managed by the National Executive Committee. The members of the National Executive Committee shall be not less than eleven nor

more than nineteen persons in number. The National Executive Committee must include all Founder Members, and the first such National Executive Committee shall be elected by the incorporators at the first meeting of the organization. Every member of the National Executive Committee shall be deemed to be a full member of American Action, Inc., whether or not he shall be duly elected by the organization of the State or Congressional District in which he lives. Thereafter, if there be any vacancy or vacancies in the National Executive Committee caused by death, resignation, incapacity or removal, the same shall be filled by the majority vote of the members of said Committee at a meeting duly called, provided a quorum of the National Executive Committee be present.

SEC. 2. Meetings. The National Executive Committee shall meet at such time or times as it shall by a majority vote appoint. Meetings may be called by the Chairman or the Secretary of the said Committee. At the request of three or more members of the Committee filed in writing with the Secretary, the Secretary shall and must call such meetings.

SEC. 3. Notice and Place of Meeting. All meetings of the National Executive Committee shall be held at such place or places and at such time or times as the National Executive Committee may from time to time determine, or unless otherwise determined by the Committee as aye be determined by the officer calling such meeting or as may be fixed by the Secretary in the notice of such meeting. Notice of the time or place of any meeting of the National Executive Committee shall be mailed to each member, addressed to him or her at his or her usual address, not less than five days before the day on which the meeting is to be held, but in the event of what appears to the Chairman or the Secretary to be a sufficient emergency, a meeting may be called by telephone or telegraph, with the giving of such notice as will permit all members to attend if respectively they can arrange to attend. At such meetings of the Committee members of said Committee unable to attend shall have the right to cast their votes by a writing, by telephone, or telegraph, or by a proxy. In the event of a vote by telephone the member casting such vote must confirm said vote within twenty-four hours by telegraph or by letter.

SEC. 4. Business Transacted at Meetings. Any business may be transacted or corporate action taken at any meeting of the National Executive Committee, whether or not stated in the notice of the meeting, provided action thus taken is by vote of at least three-quarters of the members present.

SEC. 5. Quorum. At all meetings of the National Executive Committee, a majority thereof shall constitute a quorum provided at least five members are personally present, and action of the majority of the Committee, present in person or by proxy, at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall constitute the action of the National Executive Committee. When less than a quorum is present the members present may adjourn the meeting to any specified time and place and no notice of such adjournment shall be required.

SEC. 6. Rules and Regulations. The National Executive Committee may adopt such rules and regulations for the conduct of its meetings and for the management of the affairs of American Action, Inc., as it may deem proper, and may elect a Chairman of such Committee.

ARTICLE III. OTHER COMMITTEES

The National Executive Committee may designate other committees of such number and for such purposes as the National Executive Committee may from time to time determine.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

SECTION 1. Officers. The officers of American Action, Inc., shall consist of an Executive Director, First and Second Vice Executive Directors, a Secretary, a Treasurer, one or more Assistant Secretaries, one or more Assistant Treasurers, and members of the National Council as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. Executive Director. The Executive Director shall be the chief executive officer of American Action, Inc., and shall have general supervision, direction, and control of the affairs of American Action, Inc., and general supervision over its several officers, subject in all respects, however, to the supervision and control of the National Executive Committee. He must be a member of the organization, but need not be a Founder Member. He shall preside at meetings of the National Executive Committee. He shall sign and execute all agreements and documents in the name of American Action, Inc., unless the signing and execution thereof

shall be expressly delegated by the National Executive Committee to some other officer or agent of the organization, or unless otherwise provided by these Bylaws, and shall perform such other duties as are incident to his office or as may be prescribed by law or by these Bylaws or as may be assigned to him from time to time by the National Executive Committee.

SEC. 3. Vice Executive Directors. The National Executive Committee shall elect a First and a Second Vice Executive Director who, in that order, in case of the inability of the Executive Director to perform his duties, shall perform them subject to the same limitations as apply to the Executive Director. The Vice Executive Directors shall also perform such other duties as may from time to time be assigned to them, respectively, by the Executive Director or the National Executive Committee.

SEC. 4 Secretary. The Secretary shall—

(a) Attend all meetings of the Founder Members, of the National Executive Committee, of any and all standing committees, and of any general, regular, or special meeting of the organization, and he shall act as clerk thereof and shall record all the proceedings of such meetings in books kept for that purpose. It shall be his ministerial duty to give notice of all meetings of any kind stating the time, place, and purposes thereof.

(b) Be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal of American Action, Inc., and see that it is affixed to all documents requiring it.

(c) In general, perform such duties as are incident to the office of Secretary, or as may from time to time be assigned to him by the Executive Director, or the National Executive Committee, or as may be prescribed by these Bylaws.

In the absence or incapacity of the Secretary, an Assistant Secretary may act for him.

SEC. 5. Treasurer. The Treasurer shall—

(a) Except as otherwise ordered by the National Executive Committee or as provided in these Bylaws, have charge and custody of and be responsible for all funds, securities, and disbursements of American Action, Inc., and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, all moneys and other valuable effects in its account in such banks or other depositaries as shall be selected or approved by the National Executive Committee.

(b) Receive and give receipts for payment and contributions made to American Action, Inc., and take and preserve receipts of all moneys disposed of by him.

(c) Collect all current dues and contributions from each member of the organization, payable in accordance with Article I of these Bylaws, and draw and sign all checks upon funds of the organization, but disburse no money other than for the current expenses of the organization except upon an order signed by the Executive Director of the organization. He shall attach all such orders to checks as vouchers.

(d) Render a statement of the financial condition of American Action, Inc., whenever requested so to do by the Executive Director or by the National Executive Committee.

(e) In general, perform such duties as are incident to the office of Treasurer, or as may from time to time be assigned to him by the Executive Director or the National Executive Committee, or as may be prescribed by law or by these Bylaws.

In the absence or incapacity of the Treasurer, an Assistant Treasurer may act for him.

SEC. 6. Election and Term of Office. The above-named officers shall be elected at the first and all subsequent annual meetings of the National Executive Committee and shall serve for one year or until a successor shall be duly appointed to office. In the event of a vacancy occurring in any of said offices for any reason, the National Executive Committee may, at a meeting duly called, elect a successor to fill the unexpired term of office.

SEC. 7. National Council. The National Executive Committee at its first meeting or at any subsequent meeting shall elect a National Council of five members, some or all of whom may or may not be members of the National Executive Committee. The members of the National Council shall hold office during the pleasure of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall have power to enlarge the National Council but not beyond a total of nine members.

SEC. 7. Rider "A." The National Council or any of its members shall act in an advisory capacity to the National Executive Committee, may be from time to time consulted by the National Executive Committee and may make such recom-

mendations as it or any of its members may desire to the National Executive Committee on any matters pertaining to the affairs, policies, programs, and activities of American Action, Inc.

SEC. 8. *Creation of Additional Offices.* Other offices may be created from time to time and officers duly elected thereto by the National Executive Committee or, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, by a subcommittee of three especially appointed by the National Executive Committee for the purpose. These other officers shall have such powers, perform such duties, and shall hold such offices as may be designated by the National Executive Committee or by the said special subcommittee elected.

A vacancy in any of the above offices or in the National Council may be filled by the National Executive Committee, or in the case of an Assistant Treasurer or an Assistant Secretary by the subcommittee electing the predecessor in such office.

SEC. 9. *Compensation.* The officers of American Action, Inc., elected or appointed by the National Executive Committee, shall be entitled to salary or other compensation in such amounts as shall from time to time be determined by the National Executive Committee. Unless otherwise directed by the National Executive Committee, the Executive Director may fix the salary or other compensation of any agent or employee of American Action, Inc., not elected or appointed by the National Executive Committee.

SEC. 10. *Chairman of the National Council.* The National Executive Committee may in its discretion create the office of Chairman of the National Council and may elect to that office such person as it may select. It may assign to the officer holding the position of Chairman of the National Council such duties as in its discretion it may designate.

ARTICLE V. BANK ACCOUNTS

SECTION 1. *Depositaries.* All funds of American Action, Inc., shall be deposited from time to time to its credit in such banks, trust companies, or other depositaries as the National Executive Committee may select or approve, or as may be selected by any officer or officers to whom such power may from time to time be delegated by the National Executive Committee, and for the purpose of such deposits, checks, drafts, and other orders for the payment of moneys which are payable to the order of American Action, Inc., may be endorsed, assigned, and delivered by the Executive Director or the Treasurer or by any officer, agent, or employee of American Action, Inc., to whom either of said officers or the National Executive Committee shall have delegated such power.

ARTICLE VI. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SECTION 1. *Fiscal Year.* The fiscal year of American Action, Inc., shall be the calendar year.

SEC. 2. *Corporate Seal.* The seal of American Action, Inc., shall be in the form of a circle and shall bear the name "American Action, Inc.," and the year of its incorporation.

SEC. 3. *Waivers of Notice.* Any Founder Member or member of the National Executive Committee may at any time, by writing or by telegram, waive any notice required to be given under these Bylaws or by law, and if any Founder Member or member of the National Executive Committee shall be present at any meeting, he shall be deemed to have waived notice thereof.

SEC. 4. *Amendments.* The National Executive Committee shall have power to rescind, alter, amend, or repeal these Bylaws or to make new Bylaws at any time.

ARTICLE VII. STATE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

SECTION 1. *Formation and Organization.* The National Executive Committee may from time to time authorize the formation of local organizations or State or Congressional District Organizations, as provided by Article Third of the Certificate of Incorporation of American Action, Inc., granting to such persons as said National Executive Committee may designate or approve the right and power to form such an organization and to use the name "American Action, Inc.," in connection therewith. Such organization shall, however, in its formation, organization, membership qualifications, and tenures, procedures, and activities, in all respects conform to and be at all times subject to the Certificate of Incorporation, Bylaws, and resolutions and directions of the National Executive Com-

mittee, and may adopt rules and regulations for its own conduct, subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee, and shall have for its sole purpose and shall pursue a program similar to the purposes and program of the National Organization and as from time to time prescribed by the National Executive Committee. Each State and Congressional District Organization may elect five of its local members to an Executive Committee, provided the electees are each approved by the National Executive Committee, and such Committee shall be the governing body of its regional organization. The National Executive Committee reserves the right in its sole discretion to at any time revoke the rights of said State or Congressional District Organization to in anywise continue or engaged in any activities in or under the name of American Action, Inc., or to claim or exercise any of the prerogatives of American Action, Inc.

SEC. 2. *Members*. Any qualified person may become a member of any class, which he chooses, of either the National Organization or of the State and Congressional District Organization of his residence; but every member of a State or Congressional District Organization shall without further payment or contribution be deemed to be a member also of the National Organization of the same class of membership as he has in such local organization and subject to the same rules and regulations, and shall be entitled to all of the privileges of such membership. Each State or Congressional District Organization will remit to the National Organization such part of the dues or contributions made to it by its members as may be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII. PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

The rules of Parliamentary Procedure contained in Roberts' Rules of Order (Revised) shall be the authority governing all meetings of this organization, and the National Executive Committee shall be subject to special rules as may be at any time adopted.

Mr. COE. Can you tell whether the duties and the powers and the functions of the executive council are set forth in the bylaws? If so, what are they?

Mr. HALFPENNY. They are. The bylaws provide that the executive committee shall direct the action of the American Action, Inc., as a corporation, and from their numbers, from outsiders, they shall elect officers to carry on the purposes of the corporation.

Mr. COE. Now, does the language mentioned in Mr. Hayes' statement beginning with the words "To promote methods," set forth the objects of the corporation, as set forth in the charter?

Mr. HALFPENNY. That is right.

Mr. COE. That alone, and nothing else?

Mr. HALFPENNY. There are other general things set out, and there is more to that, but in the main the statement is taken from it.

Mr. COE. There is no specific purpose other than the language contained in Mr. Hayes' statement?

Mr. HALFPENNY. Except that an attorney usually puts in—

Mr. COE. We are not interested in that particular.

PURPOSE OF CORPORATION

Now, Mr. Hayes, getting down to the purpose for which this corporation was organized and acting, you have set forth your purpose—your patriotic duty as a citizen to protect our ideals of American Government regardless of personal sacrifices. Will you elaborate a bit on that and tell us just what the purpose of the corporation is, in your own language?

Mr. HAYES. It would be almost identical with what I have read to you, Mr. Coe. I am of the opinion that it is the duty of every American citizen to oppose with all his vigor anyone, anywhere, whose action would tend to destroy the American system of government.

Mr. COE. That is the object of American Action?

Mr. HAYES. In my judgment, that is the object, and the sole object, of organizing these organizations on a bipartisan basis, directed only at people believed to be in the category just referred to.

Mr. COE. I do not want to dwell too much on this organization, but I do want to ask this question: Have there been meetings at which minutes of the activities of the corporation, or its executive council have been kept, since you have been in office?

Mr. HAYES. One only with which I am thoroughly familiar.

Mr. COE. All right. What transpired at that meeting, and when was it?

Mr. HAYES. It was on the tenth day of September.

Mr. COE. That is the national executive council?

Mr. HAYES. That is right, sir.

Mr. COE. And where was it held?

Mr. HAYES. It was held in the city of New York.

Mr. COE. What was the occasion and what was done there?

Mr. HAYES. On that occasion the prior chairman of the organization submitted his resignation and I was elected chairman. That was on the 10th of September 1946, and the vice chairman was designated. He is Mr. Robert Christenberry.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the prior president?

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Merwin K. Hart.

Mr. COE. What else transpired at that meeting?

Mr. HAYES. We considered a number of things having to do with the prospect of development. Whether they appear in the minutes or not, I do not know. I recall particularly a trip to California, for Bob Condon and I, was planned and gone over.

Mr. COE. For what purpose?

Mr. HAYES. For the purpose of determining what prospective operations, if any, we would have on the west coast.

Mr. COE. Along what line?

Mr. HAYES. Along the lines that we have discussed here; whether we would have any American Action activities along the west coast.

Mr. COE. When you say "American Action activities," you are referring to prospective action in connection with the election of Congressmen?

Mr. HAYES. I am, sir.

PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION

Mr. COE. Well, at this meeting on September 10 there must have been a discussion of the coming election; is that true or not?

Mr. HAYES. I do not know of any particular discussion of the coming election except the broad plan of operation. What we would do I think was discussed.

Mr. COE. What was the broad plan? Was there a broad plan adopted?

Mr. HAYES. No more than what I have depicted in my statement here.

Mr. COE. What was the broad plan adopted at that meeting?

Mr. HAYES. The broad plan which was discussed—and whether it was specifically recorded at that meeting or not, it was this: that

those who have, as I, as Bob Condon has, and as Bob Christenberry has, a background of association with the veterans in practically every congressional district in the country, would go into the particular areas and make inquiry of our intimate friends and past associates there and ascertain locally just what would be the attitude with relation to a particular congressional district, or the people contemplating being elected to that particular spot. All of our plan, the whole thing, contemplates, as indicated in my statement there, the acquisition of war veterans along with other citizens to develop practical vote-getting, registration-encouraging organizations within those particular congressional districts.

Mr. COE. You must have had some goal to go toward when you formulated those plans. What was your over-all goal?

Mr. HAYES. To elect, where we could find them, the type of Congressmen that I have just described.

Mr. COE. That is the point that I was trying to get to.

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

Mr. COE. Who are the type of Congressmen that you wanted to elect? Did you identify them in your meeting, or have you at any time in any manner selected certain Congressmen or candidates that you intended to support?

Mr. HAYES. There was no particular discussion in that meeting, as I have indicated, and if I have not done so, I want to make it clear that that determination will be very largely made by the people in the particular area or State.

Mr. COE. What people?

Mr. HAYES. People selected by us to personify the ideals that we have in American Action—local people within the particular States.

Mr. COE. Do I understand that they have not been selected yet?

Mr. HAYES. In some of the States they have been; in others they have not been.

Mr. COE. What is the entire membership of American Action, Inc.?

Mr. HAYES. Do you mean the number of contributors?

Mr. COE. I have not gotten to that. I mean the number of members.

Mr. HAYES. Well, it would be a relatively small number, except that we are reaching out, as was indicated by me in this basic statement into various organizations wherein the patriotic activities of the members have been such that there is evidence that their past leadership would personify in themselves the things that we are reaching for, and we can go into the various places where we intend to operate, pick up those people and have them be the actual active members in the particular area.

MEMBERSHIP

Mr. COE. My point is you are not speaking of seeking a large membership as such for American Action, Inc.?

Mr. HAYES. We are not, though that may be one of the objectives at the meeting tomorrow.

Mr. COE. You are not at the present time?

Mr. HAYES. No action along that line has been taken, Mr. Coe.

Mr. COE. You do not have members of American Action in all the States, then, at the present time?

Mr. HAYES. I think that that is an accurate statement; yes. In fact, there are a number of States where we do not spend any time.

Mr. COE. If you have only 10 or 11 members, you certainly do not have them in every State.

Mr. HAYES. When I say 10 or 11 members, I am talking about the people who are directing the activities.

Mr. COE. Who else is connected with American Action activities other than those you mentioned a moment ago?

Mr. HAYES. Thousands of them, sir, of the category to which I have referred.

Mr. COE. They are potential members. How about actual members?

Mr. HAYES. We do not have membership in the sense that I think you mean, Mr. COE.

Mr. COE. That is what I want to know.

Mr. HAYES. There has been no, so far as I know—and if there has been I do not know of it—appeal for “Will you join by paying so much money?” There may have been that. I do not know whether there will be or not, but there has not been thus far from the national organization standpoint. Now, within some of the particular congressional districts where local people are activating these organizations there may be that. It may have occurred in the last month or so, but I am not familiar with it if it has.

Mr. COE. Getting back to this meeting of September 10, wherein a plan was formulated to send some people out to the west coast, and so forth, the objective being to lay the foundation for political activities for the election of or the voting against certain types of candidate, did you go further than that and select specific candidates that you would oppose and specific candidates that you would endorse, or seek to elect?

Mr. HAYES. In that particular meeting; no, sir.

Mr. COE. Did you at any other time?

Mr. HAYES. We do not elect candidates unless they are themselves selected by the people in the particular district.

Mr. COE. People not connected with your organization at all; is that true?

Mr. HAYES. People who are asked by us to become connected with our organization in that district.

Mr. COE. What are the qualifications of a man that you will support?

Mr. HAYES. Religious adherence to the American ideals.

Mr. COE. You say that they have not been selected by you at this time, or by your organization at this time?

Mr. HAYES. I did not say that.

Mr. COE. I misunderstood you.

Mr. HAYES. I said that in some instances the local people themselves will be selecting those individuals.

CANDIDATES

Mr. COE. Let me get down to this specific question: Have you formulated a list of candidates for Congress in this year's election whom you support and intend to work in behalf of?

Mr. HAYES. The answer is “No.”

Mr. COE. Have you formulated a so-called purge list, or a list of those that you intend to oppose actively in this campaign?

Mr. HAYES. The answer to that is unequivocally "No."

Mr. COE. Could you give us a list of the candidates that you have indicated your organization intends to support?

Mr. HAYES. I do not have a list of them; no, sir.

Mr. COE. Could you name some of them?

Mr. HAYES. I could name some but not all of them.

Mr. COE. Will you do so?

Mr. HAYES. I can name the one in Seattle.

Mr. COE. All right, sir.

Mr. HAYES. I cannot name the ones in some of the other States for the reason I know that the individuals are handling things for us there and they are the ones to determine that.

Mr. COE. You mean to say that you do not know who they are?

Mr. HAYES. Yes. I can probably find out who they are without any question, but I do not have their name offhand.

Mr. COE. You do not know now?

Mr. HAYES. That is right.

Mr. COE. Who is the one in Seattle that you are supporting?

Mr. HAYES. We are supporting the past department commander of one of the veterans' organizations who served in the Navy this time, too. His name is Jones.

Mr. COE. What is his first name?

Mr. HAYES. Homer.

Mr. COE. And what office is he a candidate for?

Mr. HAYES. Congress.

Mr. HARRIS. What district?

Mr. HAYES. The Seattle district.

Mr. HARRIS. Whose district is it, if you know? I take it that he is not a present Member.

Mr. HAYES. That is right; he is not.

Mr. HARRIS. Whose district is he running from?

Mr. HAYES. Congressman De Lacy's district.

Mr. HARRIS. Can you tell us of any other specific candidate that you are supporting?

Mr. HAYES. Yes. I can give you the States better than the individuals.

Mr. HARRIS. The State and district, if you can do it.

Mr. HAYES. The State of Oklahoma. There is at least one there.

There may be two or three.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what district in Oklahoma that would be?

Mr. HAYES. Memory tells me that one of them would be the Tulsa district.

I am not trying to evade, but I do not have it at my fingertips. There are a couple in Wisconsin. There are a number in Illinois, particularly in Chicago. There are a couple in Missouri. I will know better after tomorrow's meeting, because these reports will come in to me. There have been certain things done in the course of the last 2 or 3 weeks in the East which I am not at all familiar with.

Mr. COE. Do I understand that at tomorrow's meeting you will determine a certain list of candidates for Congress that you will give your support to?

Mr. HAYES. I do not think there will be a list. There will be a complete discussion for everybody there of everything that we have in mind, and what we are doing.

Mr. COE. Is it your intention to determine tomorrow whether you will make a list of certain candidates to Congress that you will give your support to in this election?

Mr. HAYES. I think that is partially true, but I do not think we will ever get to the determination in this executive committee of all of them, because I must keep impressing the fact that the local unit will be the determiner within the particular territory area of the individuals who are of the type to be supported.

Mr. COE. But yet you say you do not at the present time have a local unit; am I right?

Mr. HAYES. I did not say that.

Mr. COE. I understood you to say that.

Mr. HAYES. There are a number of States in which we do have, but there are a great many States in which we do not.

Mr. COE. I will ask you about that in a moment. Now, getting back to this question that I asked you. At your meeting tomorrow you say that you partially expect to formulate, or come to a determination, as to certain candidates that you intend to support. What do you mean by the word "partially"?

Mr. HAYES. I do not know the sense in which I used it. I am sure that we will never be able in the time we have to go into the entire category that we are referring to.

Mr. COE. You mean that it will take more than one meeting to do it?

Mr. HAYES. We will go over everything we have done, but whether we will go over the whole United States of America and cover the whole picture tomorrow I question, because I do not think we will have time to do it.

Mr. COE. What is the purpose of your meeting tomorrow?

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. HAYES. To get together the executive committee for the first time since I have been elected the head of this organization to apprise them of everything that we have attempted to do in the course of the last month or 6 weeks, and to get their approval or disapproval of what our prospective plans are which will be presented to them tomorrow.

Mr. COE. Undoubtedly you as the leader of the meeting have a definite program for the committee meeting; is that not true?

Mr. HAYES. It is pretty true, although I have been traveling very fast all day today, yesterday and the day before, and I have not at my fingertips the things that will be presented there.

Mr. COE. You know, do you not, whether or not one of the subjects to be presented to the meeting will be the question of selecting certain persons that you will support and others that you will oppose? Is that one of the matters of business to come before your meeting?

Mr. HAYES. It will probably be presented in a complete report to the executive committee meeting in a portrayal to them when I can get all the people in there and the representatives who have been

designated, shall I say, or have volunteered their services in the respective States will be either there or represented there.

Mr. COE. You think that you will determine the persons that you will support tomorrow and those that you will oppose; is that correct?

Mr. HAYES. I am certain of that, sir.

Mr. COE. Do you have any idea how many?

Mr. HAYES. I would have to give you a sort of guess, Mr. Coe. There will probably be 25 or 30; perhaps 35 at the very most. Not more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty-five that you will oppose or support?

Mr. HAYES. It depends, sir, on the particular individual who is involved, and keep in mind we will only follow the concerted recommendation of the people in the local areas in which we are interested. I did not mention Wisconsin a while ago. I did not mean to leave it out intentionally. I was in Wisconsin last evening. One of the reasons that it was impossible for me to be here this afternoon was the fact that I was in Wisconsin; and there will be a couple of districts in that State in which we will operate.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you name those?

Mr. HAYES. I think that I can give the numbers. I believe it is about 4 or 5. They are both Milwaukee districts. One of them you will recall, sir, has been in the public press, one of the great political parties selecting a nominee and later having repudiated the individual because of his reported association with the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Fourth District the nominees are John C. Brophy, Republican; E. V. Bobrowiez, Democrat; G. E. Helberg, Socialist; and Thad Wasielewski, Independent.

In the Fifth District, A. J. Biemiller, Democrat; Charles Kersten, Republican; Frank P. Zeidler, Socialist.

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In those districts whom are you supporting and opposing?

Mr. HAYES. Truthfully, sir, the answer to that will be made by a Mr. William R. Callahan, who is representing us of record in the State of Wisconsin, and has been for a couple or 3 weeks, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. COE. What do you mean by "representing us of record"?

Mr. HAYES. In some States—and I have directed the individuals to take care of whatever they are required to do—the recording of the name of the individual who is the officially designated person who will or will not represent American Action, as the case may be, and in that particular State Mr. William R. Callahan is that individual.

Mr. COE. Mr. Chairman, were you through with your questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You may go ahead for the time being.

Mr. COE. These other districts you have mentioned that you have persons you are supporting: Can you tell us the district and the name of the person you are supporting? You say, "Oklahoma, Tulsa district; Wisconsin, two; Illinois, and Missouri."

Mr. HAYES. We will know all that, Mr. Coe, tomorrow when we go into the whole phase of this operation there.

Mr. COE. All right. Now, do I understand that up to the present time you have not definitely selected the candidates you are going to support?

Mr. HAYES. Except as to the States in which certain candidates are selected. I have indicated some of them to you definitely.

Mr. COE. Well, you have indicated those States and say you have definitely made a decision or made a determination to support certain ones and to oppose certain others.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Yet you cannot give us the names of the districts?

Mr. HAYES. The individual in that particular State will be the one who will be familiar with that particular answer.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interject one question right there, and I am just trying to get this clear in my mind, Mr. Hayes. You refer occasionally to the individual in the State who will be responsible; yet, as I recall from the prepared statement that you read, one of the conditions on which you accepted the job was that you have complete control; that you as an individual or director would have complete control in the execution of all political activities of American Action, and that was agreed to.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to harmonize that statement with the frequent statement that the individual in the State will.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir, and I am glad you raise the point; because I have felt that no organization should come into a State from the outside and say to individuals there "This is what you should or should not do," unless they themselves have determined by themselves the places they feel in that particular area the things ought to be applied—the political activities ought to be applied.

Now, does that answer your question, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. HAYES. In other words, that is the only sense in which I said I wanted to direct the political activities. I want to be sure it is a thing that emanates from the particular area, so that it will be, just as our form of Government is everywhere, a representative thing emanating from there; not dominated from the top.

The CHAIRMAN. You want the recommendation of some one individual or group of individuals in those States in which you are going to act?

Mr. HAYES. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. As to those individuals, are they members of American Action in the sense of having membership in the organization?

Mr. HAYES. Only in the sense I have indicated. We have no membership, or paid membership. They are people who are associated with us, as I have indicated. I hope this is not necessarily repetitious, but we go in and find people who have been our own associates who live in those particular areas, whether past leaders of veterans' organizations or heads of civic organizations, and they themselves are the ones to make recommendations to us. Now, we have selected in a relatively few of our districts the names, but the individuals will come in and they will all be portrayed to the executive committee tomorrow, and whether we get a list or a completed one I am unable to say. That is the plan of operation, and we want to be sure to do it that way.

Mr. COE. How do you know those people that you go to in the various States are sympathetic with your point of view?

Mr. HAYES. That is determined by me, sir, or some one of our representatives. We go primarily to the people we have been associated with for many, many years in what we like to call the field of Americanism, and we know their attitude toward these particular tenets, and we ask those individuals their judgment as to the propriety of taking action, and ask them to make the determination for us.

Mr. COE. Had you previously been engaged in political activity prior to taking the chairmanship of this committee?

Mr. HAYES. You mean me, personally?

Mr. COE. Personally; yes. You are referring to your former associates and friends.

Mr. HAYES. I; yes; I have been all my life. But in the respect to which I referred, I have in mind people who have been engaged in what I call Americanism work throughout the country, without political affiliation. Many of them do not have that.

Mr. COE. Many in your organization?

Mr. HAYES. Yes; many of them.

Mr. COE. So your only contact or connection with people in the field is when you go to them and find they are in sympathy with what you have to sell, or your ideology, you might call it; is that right?

Mr. HAYES. I talk to some individuals when I go whose ideology I know to be identical with mine over the course of the years. I do not want to personify because some of them I have talked with I do not know whether they will be with us or not, but I have talked with literally dozens of past leaders of veterans' organizations all over the country, and I know I do not need to go to those fellows and ask them whether they adhere to the same American ideals that I do because I have been working in that field ever since I got out of uniform in World War I, and those are the ones to whom I refer, and the only ones I have in mind. When I say I go to individuals, they do not necessarily have to be veterans. There are many others doing the same things than veterans.

Mr. COE. Then I take it you cannot tell us specifically at this time the identities of any persons—candidates—that you intend to support or that you are going to support in this year's election.

Mr. HAYES. I have told you some.

Mr. COE. I mean with the exception of your reference to several States and candidates that will be selected at your meeting tomorrow.

Mr. HAYES. The names of the individuals will all be discussed, and it will be determined by the representatives of those particular areas who they are, and the recommendations will be made to the executive committee.

Mr. COE. I am trying to find out if you have already selected some individuals or whether you have not, or whether it is all a matter to be done tomorrow at your meeting, or at some future meeting.

Mr. HAYES. It is not all to be done. Part will be done tomorrow and some will be done at future meetings.

Mr. COE. I am principally interested in whether you have gotten some already picked at this time.

Mr. HAYES. I have named a few of them.

Mr. COE. You have not named them; you have mentioned the districts.

The CHAIRMAN. To be specific, you have mentioned two districts in Missouri. I wonder if you can give us those districts, or the individuals in those districts.

Mr. HAYES. I cannot. I think I know the individual in one instance, but am not too sure of that, because I do not have yet the completed recommendation from people down there who will be selected. I am sure we will be operating there, but I do not know in just what particular districts.

Mr. COE. Have you already determined upon certain candidates you intend to oppose?

Mr. HAYES. One I have named. There are some others I am sure will be in that category, but I have to give you my belief. There is one that has already been opposed.

Mr. COE. Who is that?

Mr. HAYES. I named him—Hugh De Lacy, in the Seattle district. And I am sure there has been a lot of work done, although I have not yet had an official report on him, in Mr. Marcantonio's district in New York, and there is work being done in some of the other districts.

Mr. COE. You mean you are opposing Mr. Marcantonio?

Mr. HAYES. I think that is right. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. You just "think" that to be right.

Mr. COE. Who is the next one? You have named two now; who are the others?

Mr. HAYES. Well, I have said to you—I will name the States. I named Wisconsin; I named Missouri; I named Illinois.

Mr. HARRIS. You mean by that, Mr. Hayes, you do not care to announce who you are going to support in Wisconsin pending the announcement to be made by your representative there?

Mr. HAYES. That is right.

Mr. HARRIS. Is that your position?

Mr. HAYES. That is my position.

Mr. HARRIS. As I gather from your testimony here, you have already determined who you are going to support in Milwaukee, but you are not going to make any announcement because you have an understanding with somebody in Wisconsin that he is going to make the announcement?

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

Mr. HARRIS. When will he make that announcement?

Mr. HAYES. It will probably be made tomorrow, sir.

Mr. HARRIS. Will you supply this committee with a list of those that you decide to support tomorrow, in your committee meeting?

Mr. HAYES. Certainly, sir; unquestionably; without hesitation.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

AMERICAN ACTION, INC.,
Chicago 4, Ill., October 30, 1946.

Congressman PERCY PRIEST,

Congressional Campaign Expenditures Committee,

Congressional Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PRIEST: Complying with our statement to your committee that as rapidly as information was made available by local groups to the American Action national headquarters, we would forward same to your committee, we submit the following for your information:

In addition to opposition to Vito Marcantonio, New York, and Hugh De Lacy, Washington, we are now opposed to Andrew J. Biemiller, Fifth Wisconsin, and Edmund V. Bobrowicz, Fourth Wisconsin.

Support is being extended to Bennett, Twelfth Michigan, George C. Schwabe, First Oklahoma, and Fred W. Busbey, Third Illinois, and Tom Owens, Seventh Illinois.

As release of such information is made available to us, we will forward same immediately to your committee.

Yours very truly,

HAROLD T. HALFPENNY,
Attorney for American Action, Inc.

The CHAIRMAN. And those you decide to oppose?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As well as support?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we leave that subject, let me just ask this question, because I have read this report in some place, that your organization possibly would oppose 187 sitting Members of Congress.

Mr. COE. A purge list.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; as a purge list.

Mr. HAYES. I have read that somewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a pretty big list.

Mr. HAYES. That is right.

Mr. HARRIS. It is right?

Mr. HAYES. He said "That is a big list," and I said "That is right." That is so much bigger than anything we have in mind that I never gave it any consideration. It has no basis in fact. There was a statement that emanated from somewhere to the effect that 187 Congressmen had done something or other, and from that someone drew an inference which has no basis whatsoever, so far as I have anything to do with this organization, and I think I know that.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know what the report was based on, but I have read that report and that figure and I started checking on the membership and I know the membership both on the Republican and Democratic sides pretty well, and it was quite impossible for me to see why 187 of them would be grouped together to be opposed by an organization, and I just wanted to know what is in back of it.

Mr. HAYES. My respect for the United States Congress is so high that I would not even imply there are anything like that number of individuals within its confines whose Americanism can be questioned by anyone, including me.

Mr. COE. Mr. Hayes, I want to know if you will have filed with this committee copies of the minutes of your organization, of the few meetings you have had?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

Mr. COE. And may we have those filed as a part of this hearing?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir. I shall be glad to even embellish that statement. If there is anything this committee of ours has that this committee of yours wants at any time, I shall direct that it be sent to you without equivocation.

Mr. COE. And also a copy of the minutes of your meeting tomorrow?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

Mr. COE. You have touched somewhat upon your activities and have mentioned several times what you have been doing: will you tell us what activities, other than what you have already told us about, have been engaged in by your organization in connection with this year's election? You have mentioned in a general way about your meeting

and organizing these friends of yours back in the States and getting them to sympathize with your point of view: what actively has been done other than that, if anything?

Mr. HAYES. Well, I do not know that I can recite anything else. A great deal of that has been done. It has taken a lot of time.

Mr. COE. I am certain it has.

Mr. HAYES. We have met with a great many people in the course of the last 30 days, including two trips to the west coast, meeting and discussing the prospective development of the organization with people of the type I have described. But, more than that, other than work at the office, answering letters, et cetera, I do not know what all has been done.

The CHAIRMAN. If I may ask a question there: I believe you reported you had spent, the orginazation had spent, \$86,000. Is that the correct figure, and over what period of time?

Mr. HAYES. That is the entire amount of money that has been expended by the organization from the time of its inception. I am not able to break down here the differentiation between expenditures prior to my taking over, and after my taking over, but that will be given to you if you want it. We will give you, as I have indicated, a complete statement of everything we have received, what we have done with it, who got it, and why.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. I had hopes you could furnish that. I was just wondering, in view of the rather small organization so far in membership, and up to this point no activity particularly indicated other than traveling about and making contacts, how the \$86,000 had been spent.

Mr. HAYES. That will be given to you, sir. I looked into that pretty carefully to see, and it will be broken down and given to you in detail.

Mr. COE. What is the state of your present finances?

How much money does your organization have now?

Mr. HAYES. About \$12,000.

Mr. COE. And how was that \$12,000 realized?

Mr. HAYES. Various individual contributions.

Mr. COE. Do you have a list of contributors with the amounts that were contributed by each?

Mr. HAYES. I do not have it, but it will be supplied to you.

Mr. COE. Will you do that?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

Mr. COE. Over what period of time was this sum of \$12,000 received by you?

Mr. HAYES. Well, that particular \$12,000 has probably been received in the course of the last 60 days. The entire \$100,000, or whatever the figure is, that is an approximation.

Mr. COE. That is the excess over money expended?

Mr. HAYES. That is right, sir. That is the actual amount on hand now.

Mr. COE. So if you expended \$62,000, you have received some \$74,000; is that right?

Mr. HAYES. We expended more than that over the course of the year.

Mr. COE. How much have you expended over the course of the year?

Mr. HAYES. My memory is that \$100,000 is the approximate total that has ever been received at any time by the organization; that is, from its inception.

Mr. COE. That is the total of all receipts?

Mr. HAYES. From its inception.

Mr. COE. And how much are the total expenditures?

Mr. HAYES. And the disbursements have been approximately \$86,000. I am taking these figures from someone else, but I take it they are approximately accurate. That is all we are saying.

Mr. COE. That was all during the calendar year 1946, then?

Mr. HAYES. I am informed that is accurate, but I personally do not know.

Mr. COE. There have been newspaper reports and radio comments on the vast sums of money that you have received. I have seen figures in the neighborhood of \$750,000 and have seen your goal set at \$1,000,000. Is that true, or is not that true?

Mr. HAYES. You mean is it true those statements have been made?

Mr. COE. Is your goal to raise \$1,000,000 this year for campaign purposes?

Mr. HAYES. I wish we could raise \$1,000,000, but we never had that figure in mind at any time. I do not know what in the world we would do with a million dollars under the plans we have, because we do not plan to spend money in the ordinary sense of political campaigns. We are not going out and hiring paid organizers to go into these States. What we are going to do is to induce people in the local areas who feel as we do, on their own very largely, practically entirely, to do whatever they want to do about raising money, and we encourage them and give any assistance we can.

Mr. COE. Then those stories are untrue?

Mr. HAYES. Unquestionably they are untrue. There has never been any more than what we state to you here.

Mr. COE. About \$100,000?

Mr. HAYES. That is right.

Mr. COE. Have you any commitments at the present time for contributions, other than those actually received?

Mr. HAYES. None that I know of. If there are any, I do not know of them.

Mr. COE. In the contributors, do you know whether or not there are any sizeable contributions—say \$1,000 or more?

Mr. HAYES. Yes; there are some of those.

Mr. COE. Do you know who contributed those, and the amounts?

Mr. HAYES. I do not recall. I could give them possibly from memory, but my accuracy might be questioned. We will give them to you exactly by name, and the location of the individual.

Mr. COE. You will furnish a list to the committee, then, of those receipts?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

Mr. COE. And you will likewise furnish a list of all expenditures with the name, address, and the amount and purpose for which the expenditure was made?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

RECEIPTS, CONTRIBUTIONS, DISBURSEMENTS

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

STATE OF ILLINOIS,

County of Cook, ss:

W. Homer Hartz, of Chicago, Treasurer, American Action, Inc., being first duly sworn under oath, deposes and says that as treasurer of American Action, Inc., that the statements and figures in the attached report are based on information supplied him by accountants and determined from the vouchers and books of the corporation, and are true to the best of his information, knowledge, and belief.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of October, 1946.

Notary Public.

1. List of contributors whose donations amounted to more than \$100 for the period of Sept. 1 to Oct. 15, 1946:

Al Swanson, Seattle, Wash.	\$100.00
Walter L. Todd, Rochester, N. Y.	100.00
H. L. Bailey, New York, N. Y.	100.00
Joseph H. Beuttas, Chicago, Ill.	100.00
W. W. Mutter, San Francisco, Calif.	100.00
H. Dudley Swim, Twin Falls, Idaho	100.00
Edgar W. Leonard, New York, N. Y.	250.00
Mrs. Edgar W. Leonard, New York, N. Y.	250.00
Anton Rieder, Los Angeles, Calif.	100.00
Robert E. Wood, Chicago, Ill.	400.00
Mrs. Mary Wood, Chicago, Ill.	550.00
Earl Harding, New York, N. Y.	2,500.00

Total _____ 4,650.00

2. Total sum of contributions received from Sept. 1 to Oct. 15, not included in No. 1 (number of contributors, 66) _____ 1,118.00

Total _____ 5,768.00

3. Aggregate total of all contributions received by committee from Jan. 1 to Oct. 15, 1946 _____ \$83,494.64

4. Names and addresses of persons to whom an expenditure of more than 10 has been made between Sept. 1 and Oct. 15:

Particulars	Name	Date	Amount
Salary.....	Neva Bethel, San Francisco, Calif.	Sept. 1 through Sept. 30.	\$500.00
Do.....	Col. E. D. Gray, Bellport, Long Island.	do.....	1,000.00
Do.....	Mary C. Yoepp, Oak Park, Ill.	(Sept. 3, \$40.70..... Sept. 9, \$60.35..... Sept. 16, \$60.85..... Sept. 23, \$60.85..... Sept. 30, \$60.85..... Oct. 7, \$60.85..... Oct. 14, \$60.85..... (Sept. 3, \$38.55..... Sept. 9, \$38.55..... Sept. 16, \$42.70..... Sept. 23, \$42.70..... Sept. 30, \$42.70..... Oct. 7, \$42.70..... Oct. 14, \$50.70..... (Sept. 3, \$125.00..... Sept. 30, \$119.05..... Oct. 15, \$103.75..... Sept. 19, \$100.00..... Sept. 30, \$89.60..... Oct. 15, \$89.60..... (Sept. 23, \$62.85..... Sept. 30, \$62.85..... Oct. 7, \$62.85..... (Oct. 14, \$62.85.....)	403.40
Do.....	Helen O'Hara, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 3, \$40.70..... Sept. 9, \$60.35..... Sept. 16, \$60.85..... Sept. 23, \$60.85..... Sept. 30, \$60.85..... Oct. 7, \$60.85..... Oct. 14, \$60.85..... (Sept. 3, \$38.55..... Sept. 9, \$38.55..... Sept. 16, \$42.70..... Sept. 23, \$42.70..... Sept. 30, \$42.70..... Oct. 7, \$42.70..... Oct. 14, \$50.70..... (Sept. 3, \$125.00..... Sept. 30, \$119.05..... Oct. 15, \$103.75..... Sept. 19, \$100.00..... Sept. 30, \$89.60..... Oct. 15, \$89.60..... (Sept. 23, \$62.85..... Sept. 30, \$62.85..... Oct. 7, \$62.85..... (Oct. 14, \$62.85.....)	388.60
Do.....	George Eason, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 3, \$40.70..... Sept. 9, \$60.35..... Sept. 16, \$60.85..... Sept. 23, \$60.85..... Sept. 30, \$60.85..... Oct. 7, \$60.85..... Oct. 14, \$60.85..... (Sept. 3, \$38.55..... Sept. 9, \$38.55..... Sept. 16, \$42.70..... Sept. 23, \$42.70..... Sept. 30, \$42.70..... Oct. 7, \$42.70..... Oct. 14, \$50.70..... (Sept. 3, \$125.00..... Sept. 30, \$119.05..... Oct. 15, \$103.75..... Sept. 19, \$100.00..... Sept. 30, \$89.60..... Oct. 15, \$89.60..... (Sept. 23, \$62.85..... Sept. 30, \$62.85..... Oct. 7, \$62.85..... (Oct. 14, \$62.85.....)	347.80
Do.....	Ruth E. Else, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 3, \$40.70..... Sept. 9, \$60.35..... Sept. 16, \$60.85..... Sept. 23, \$60.85..... Sept. 30, \$60.85..... Oct. 7, \$60.85..... Oct. 14, \$60.85..... (Sept. 3, \$38.55..... Sept. 9, \$38.55..... Sept. 16, \$42.70..... Sept. 23, \$42.70..... Sept. 30, \$42.70..... Oct. 7, \$42.70..... Oct. 14, \$50.70..... (Sept. 3, \$125.00..... Sept. 30, \$119.05..... Oct. 15, \$103.75..... Sept. 19, \$100.00..... Sept. 30, \$89.60..... Oct. 15, \$89.60..... (Sept. 23, \$62.85..... Sept. 30, \$62.85..... Oct. 7, \$62.85..... (Oct. 14, \$62.85.....)	279.20
Do.....	Andrew Karinski, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 3, \$40.70..... Sept. 9, \$60.35..... Sept. 16, \$60.85..... Sept. 23, \$60.85..... Sept. 30, \$60.85..... Oct. 7, \$60.85..... Oct. 14, \$60.85..... (Sept. 3, \$38.55..... Sept. 9, \$38.55..... Sept. 16, \$42.70..... Sept. 23, \$42.70..... Sept. 30, \$42.70..... Oct. 7, \$42.70..... Oct. 14, \$50.70..... (Sept. 3, \$125.00..... Sept. 30, \$119.05..... Oct. 15, \$103.75..... Sept. 19, \$100.00..... Sept. 30, \$89.60..... Oct. 15, \$89.60..... (Sept. 23, \$62.85..... Sept. 30, \$62.85..... Oct. 7, \$62.85..... (Oct. 14, \$62.85.....)	251.40

Particulars	Name	Date	Amount
Salary	Eli Bobrowski, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 11, \$24.75	24.75
Do	Frank Penn, Chicago, Ill.	(Oct. 1, \$92.60 Oct. 14, \$46.30)	138.90
Do	Fred Kreh, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 15, \$133.50	133.50
Do	Walter Kuman, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 25, \$24.75 Oct. 8, \$49.50 Oct. 15, \$24.75)	99.00
Travel	Robert E. Condon, New York, N. Y.	Sept. 4	500.00
Do	Edward A. Hayes, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 5	500.00
Do	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 6	49.79
Do	do	Sept. 9	300.00
Do	Edward A. Hayes, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 12	38.48
Do	Edward D. Gray, New York, N. Y.	Sept. 13	150.55
Do	do	Sept. 24	183.65
Do	Edward A. Hayes, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 26	500.00
Do	Robert E. Condon, New York, N. Y.	do	500.00
Do	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 30	48.26
Do	Edward D. Gray, New York, N. Y.	do	152.95
Do	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 9	33.28
Do	Robert E. Condon, New York, N. Y.	Oct. 10	98.46
Do	Edward A. Hayes, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 14	100.00
Do	do	do	62.68
Office rent	Hogan & Farrwell, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 2, \$72.51 Oct. 1, \$162.26)	234.77
Stationery and supplies	Horder's, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 18, \$16.29 Oct. 12, \$17.79)	65.72
Do	Duo Letter Shop, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 18, \$16.29 Oct. 3, \$15.35)	
Telephone	Merwin K. Hart, New York, N. Y.	Sept. 19, \$185.47	368.16
Do	Illinois Bell Telephone	Sept. 23, \$182.69	
Stationery	Printrite Co., Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 11, \$40.30 Sept. 24, \$41.50)	81.80
Expense	Robert E. Condon, New York, N. Y.	Sept. 18	3,000.00
Office expense	Neva Bethel, San Francisco, Calif.	Sept. 25, \$204.04	
Do	Merwin K. Hart, New York, N. Y.	Sept. 19, \$400	604.04
Stamps		Sept. 16	40.00
Office furniture	Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 17, \$53.54	96.89
Do	M. R. Lome & Co., Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 10, \$43.35	200.00
Publications (Where is the Opposition Party?)	Human Events, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 25	
Collector of internal revenue		(Oct. 7, \$147.50 Oct. 14, \$21.70)	169.20
Printing	Millar Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 8	35.00
Promotional expense	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 9	48.35
Telegraph	Western Union, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 11	51.51
California congressional election.	Neva Bethel, San Francisco, Calif.	Sept. 4	750.00
Illinois congressional election	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 5, \$750 Oct. 2, \$200 Sept. 29, \$400 Oct. 4, \$125 do)	1,600.00
Do	do	Oct. 2, \$350	350.00
Do	James E. Tripp, Chicago, Ill.	(Sept. 13, \$100 Oct. 2, \$200)	300.00
Do	Henry Greune, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 18	550.00
Do	Leo S. McDonald, Chicago, Ill.	Sept. 25	1,000.00
Missouri congressional election	Rodney Fairfield, St. Louis, Mo.	Sept. 19	1,500.00
Oklahoma congressional election.	J. A. Porter, Tulsa, Okla.		
Northwest congressional election.	Stephen Chadwick, Seattle, Wash.	Sept. 5	2,500.00
Wisconsin congressional election.	William R. Callahan, Milwaukee, Wis.	Sept. 14	1,250.00
Total			22,080.09

5. Total sum of expenditures made from Sept. 1 to Oct. 15 not stated under No. 4 \$21.30

6. Total sum of expenditures made from Jan. 1 to Oct. 15, 1946 102,485.28

1. List of contributors whose donations amounted to more than \$100 for the period of Oct. 15 to Oct. 31, 1946:

Max McGraw, Chicago, Ill.	641.72
B. M. Stiles, New York, N. Y.	400.00
R. B. Flershem, New York, N. Y.	100.00
Max McGraw, Chicago, Ill.	1,777.57
W. C. Parker, New York, N. Y.	100.00
G. S. Allen, New York, N. Y.	100.00
R. D. Alworth, Duluth, Minn.	100.00
Walter S. McLucas, Detroit, Mich.	100.00
John M. Byrne, Cincinnati, Ohio	100.00
Thomas L. Perkins, New York, N. Y.	200.00
R. W. Moore, Washington, D. C.	3,000.00
R. W. Moore, Washington, D. C.	2,000.00
J. E. McDonald, Austin, Tex.	1,000.00
R. M. Harriss, New York, N. Y.	700.00
John M. McMillin, New York, N. Y.	200.00
Benjamin Mesrobian, New York, N. Y.	100.00
Hoffman Widerson, New York, N. Y.	100.00
R. G. MacHarrie, New York, N. Y.	1,000.00
Frank E. Gannett, New York, N. Y.	250.00
Refund: Rodney Fairfield, St. Louis, Mo.	403.85

Total 12,373.14

2. Total sum of contributions received from Oct. 15 to Oct. 31, 1946, not included in paragraph 1, and number of contributors:

Number of contributors, 61	342.00
Refunds: Utica Mutual Insurance Co., New York, N. Y.	3.88

John L. Train Co., Utica, N. Y.	2.24
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Total, 1 and 2 12,721.26

3. Aggregate total of all contributions received by committee from Jan. 1 to Oct. 31, 1946

95,805.93

4. Names and addresses of persons to whom an expenditure of more than \$10 has been made between Oct. 15 and Oct. 31, 1946:

Particulars	Name	Date	Amount
Travel	Mrs. Neva Bethel, San Francisco, Calif.	Oct. 17	\$687.93
Do	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 18	29.06
Do	Raymond Kelly, Detroit, Mich.	do	51.88
Do	Harold T. Halfpenny, Chicago, Ill. (transportation to Washington, D. C., and return for 2 and to New York and return)	Oct. 21	383.40
Do	Earl Harding, New York, N. Y.	do	101.00
Do	Merwin K. Hart, New York, N. Y.	Oct. 25	81.23
Do	Geoffrey Greyko, Jr., Washington, D. C.	Oct. 28	200.00
Do	Edward D. Gray, New York, N. Y.	Oct. 30	187.02
Salary	Eli Bobrowski, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 18	24.75
Do	Andrew Karinski, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 25	24.75
Do	Frank J. Penn, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 19	62.85
Do	Helen O'Hara, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 28	62.85
Do	Mary C. Yoepp, Oak Park, Ill.	Oct. 21	46.30
Do	Fred L. Krech, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 28	46.30
Do	Walter Kuman, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 21	50.70
Do	Edward D. Gray, New York, N. Y.	Oct. 28	50.70
Do	Neva Bethel, San Francisco, Calif.	Oct. 21	60.85
Promotional expense	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 28	60.85
Do	James E. Tripp, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 21	44.50
Do	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 28	44.50
Do	do	Oct. 23	24.75
Do	Walter Kuman, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 31	1,000.00
Office furniture	Edward D. Gray, New York, N. Y.	do	500.00
Telephone	Neva Bethel, San Francisco, Calif.	Oct. 21	75.00
Accounting service	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	do	300.00
Advertising	James E. Tripp, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 24	50.00
	John L. Killian, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 28	69.20
	do	Oct. 22	23.90
	Fred Blaisdell, Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 18	146.60
	Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 23	163.44
	Illinois Bell Telephone Co., Chicago, Ill.	do	250.00
	Scovell-Wellington Co., Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 21	6,640.00
	Christiansen Advertising Agency, Chicago, Ill.		

Particulars	Name	Date	Amount
Congressional district organizational work:			
New York.....	Robert K. Christenberry, New York, N. Y.	Oct. 28	200.00
Michigan.....	Raymond Kelly, Detroit, Mich.	Oct. 24	500.00
Printing.....	State of Delaware, Dover, Del.	Oct. 25	11.00
Publication (purchase of book and subscription).	Human Events, Chicago.	Oct. 28	13.50
Total.....			12,334.06

Total, No. 4.....	\$12,334.06
5. Total sum of expenditures made from Oct. 15 to Oct. 31, 1946, not stated under No. 4.....	8.80
Total 4 and 5.....	12,342.86
6. Total sum of expenditures from Jan. 1 to Oct. 31, 1946.....	114,828.14

List of contributors of \$100 or more to American Action, Inc., from inception to Sept. 30, 1946

C. M. Chester, New York, N. Y.....	\$100.00
George B. Howell, Tampa, Fla.....	1,000.00
Ella Mable Clark, New York, N. Y.....	100.00
R. B. Dresser, Providence, R. I.....	1,000.00
Lammot du Pont, Wilmington, Del.....	5,000.00
H. S. Richardson, New York, N. Y.....	1,100.00
Charles Payson, New York, N. Y.....	2,000.00
J. P. Seiberling, Akron, Ohio.....	1,000.00
Margaret C. Hart, Utica, N. Y.....	200.00
J. Cheever Cowdin, New York, N. Y.....	500.00
H. W. Prentis, Jr., Lancaster, Pa.....	200.00
W. L. Baker, New York, N. Y.....	200.00
Ora A. Taylor, New York, N. Y.....	200.00
Charles M. Funk, New York, N. Y.....	100.00
Wellington & Co., New York, N. Y.....	500.00
Edwin S. Webster, Jr., New York, N. Y.....	500.00
J. J. Raskob, New York, N. Y.....	3,000.00
Harriss & Vose, New York, N. Y.....	1,000.00
A. B. Freeman, New Orleans, La.....	5,000.00
Edward L. Ryerson, Chicago, Ill.....	500.00
F. M. Inge, Mobile, Ala.....	100.00
H. R. Cullen, Houston, Tex.....	2,500.00
Lamont Fleming, Jr., Houston, Tex.....	2,500.00
R. R. McCormick, Chicago, Ill.....	1,000.00
Mrs. H. R. Cullen, Houston, Tex.....	2,500.00
Kenneth Templeton, Chicago, Ill.....	1,000.00
P. Raymond O'Brien, Baileys Harbor, Wis.....	4,000.00
Sterling Morton, Chicago, Ill.....	200.00
James P. Soper, Jr., Chicago, Ill.....	200.00
John D. Ames, Chicago, Ill.....	250.00
Edwin M. Stark, Chicago, Ill.....	100.00
George E. Booth, Chicago, Ill.....	250.00
Herman C. Hintzpeter, Chicago, Ill.....	100.00
Edmond M. Cook, Moline, Ill.....	100.00
Charles D. Wiman, Moline, Ill.....	500.00
Dwight S. Harding, Chicago, Ill.....	100.00
C. N. Stone, Moline, Ill.....	100.00
L. A. Murphy, Moline, Ill.....	100.00
L. E. Fischer, Chicago, Ill.....	500.00
Henry M. Dawes, Chicago, Ill.....	100.00
William Volker, Kansas City, Mo.....	5,000.00
J. H. Shirk, Peru, Ind.....	100.00
P. D. Wright, Erie, Pa.....	150.00
Frank W. Thomas, Frankfort, Mich.....	250.00
Thomas W. Russell, Hartford, Conn.....	100.00

List of contributors of \$100 or more to American Action, Inc., from inception to Sept. 30, 1946—Continued

W. Homer Hartz, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
Craig F. Cullinan, Houston 2, Tex-----	100.00
H. F. King, Chicago Ill-----	100.00
Mrs. Mary H. Wood Lake Forest, Ill-----	1, 495.59
G. M. Jackson, Hinsdale, Ill-----	100.00
M. R. Becker, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
Fred Becker, Chicago, Ill-----	150.00
John W. Blodgett, Jr., Portland, Oreg-----	500.00
C. Oliver Wellington, New York, N. Y-----	100.00
C. R. Sheaffer, Fort Madison, Iowa-----	500.00
Donald R. McLennan, Jr., Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
John R. Thompson, Jr., Chicago, Ill-----	250.00
Anton Rieder, Los Angeles, Calif-----	100.00
Arthur F. Lindlay, Chicago, Ill-----	200.00
Irvin E. Marcus, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
F. M. Farris, Nashville, Tenn-----	100.00
A. Swanson, Seattle, Wash-----	100.00
Walter L. Todd, Rochester, N. Y-----	100.00
H. L. Bailey, New York, N. Y-----	100.00
Joseph H. Beuttas, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
W. W. Mutter, San Francisco, Calif-----	100.00
Howard B. Hare, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
Otis L. Hubbard, Chicago, Ill-----	200.00
Lawrence Ryan, Chicago, Ill-----	1, 000.00
Burton F. Peek, Moline, Ill-----	100.00
Frank Siloway, Moline, Ill-----	100.00
H. L. Boyle, Kenilworth, Ill-----	100.00
Clarence H. Ross, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
E. D. Hintz peter, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
Leo Hogan, Chicago, Ill-----	250.00
H. M. Dudley, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
W. N. Barker, Chicago, Ill-----	150.00
J. W. Scallan, Chicago, Ill-----	100.00
Champ Carey, Chicago, Ill-----	150.00
William H. Regnery, Chicago, Ill-----	2, 500.00
Robert E. Wood, Chicago, Ill-----	2, 569.87
A. J. Riffel, Olympia Fields, Ill-----	1, 000.00
Lloyd E. Kennedy, Moline, Ill-----	100.00
H. Dudley Swim, Twin Falls, Idaho-----	100.00
Edgar W. Leonard, New York, N. Y-----	250.00
Mrs. Edgar W. Leonard, New York, N. Y-----	250.00
Robert W. Wood, Chicago, Ill-----	400.00
Samuel B. Pettengill, New York, N. Y-----	100.00
Robert M. Harriss, New York, N. Y-----	500.00
C. Ledyard Blair, New York, N. Y-----	500.00
John T. Flynn, New York, N. Y-----	100.00
Lammot duPont, Wilmington, Del-----	1, 000.00
R. E. Wood, Chicago, Ill-----	500.00
Rosemary and Mildred J. Kemper, Chicago, Ill-----	500.00
John E. Schiffmeyer, New York, N. Y-----	1, 000.00
R. E. Wood, Chicago, Ill-----	250.00
Irène du Pont, Wilmington, Del-----	1, 000.00
Rosemary and Mildred J. Kemper, Chicago, Ill-----	250.00
William H. Regnery, Chicago, Ill-----	500.00
Robert M. Harriss, New York, N. Y-----	500.00
A. R. Johnson, New York, N. Y-----	3, 000.00
A. R. Jonhson, New York, N. Y-----	1, 000.00
Robert M. Harriss, New York, N. Y-----	500.00
E. T. Weir, New York, N. Y-----	2, 500.00
Lammot du Pont, Wilmington, Del-----	4, 000.00
William H. Regnery, Chicago, Ill-----	3, 000.00
Irène du Pont, Wilmington, Del-----	4, 000.00
Ernest L. Conant, New York, N. Y-----	1, 000.00
C. Ledyard Blair, New York, N. Y-----	1, 500.00

List of contributors of \$100 or more to American Action, Inc., from inception to Sept. 30, 1946—Continued

George Morton Levy, Mineola, Long Island	250.00
R. B. Dresser, Providence, R. I.	1,000.00
Tompkins, Boal & Tompkins (partnership)	500.00
Fred H. Goodwin, New York, N. Y.	500.00
Edward G. Budd, Philadelphia, Pa.	100.00
W. J. Alford, Jr., Hackensack, N. J.	500.00
E. T. Weir, New York, N. Y.	2,500.00
R. H. Folger, New York, N. Y.	1,000.00
H. S. Richardson, New York, N. Y.	2,900.00
E. F. Hutton, New York, N. Y.	2,500.00
C. M. White, Cleveland, Ohio	1,000.00
Eversley Childs, New York, N. Y.	1,000.00
Edgar Rickard, New York, N. Y.	1,000.00
R. A. Hummel, New York, N. Y.	250.00
John M. McMillin, New York, N. Y.	200.00
Edward A. Pierce, New York, N. Y.	100.00
S. M. Milliken, New York, N. Y.	1,000.00
Sidney Blumenthal, New York, N. Y.	200.00
John V. Door, New York, N. Y.	100.00
John A. Lurkin, New York, N. Y.	200.00
L. Richardson, New York, N. Y.	50.00
Irène du Pont, Wilmington, Del.	3,000.00
Pierre S. du Pont, Wilmington, Del.	500.00
Francis S. Regnery, Hinsdale, Ill.	1,750.00
Charles S. Payson, New York, N. Y.	2,000.00
Mrs. George P. Edmonds, Wilmington, Del.	100.00
E. du Pont Weir, Wilmington, Del.	200.00
Edwin S. Webster, New York, N. Y.	500.00
Paul G. Pennoyer, New York, N. Y.	100.00
Ernest L. Conant, New York, N. Y.	1,000.00
Alfred Sloan, New York, N. Y.	2,500.00
Robert E. Wood, Chicago, Ill.	1,060.42

American Action, Inc., combined statement of receipts and disbursements from inception to Sept. 30, 1946

Name of account	Amount
Retainers, executive and office	\$34,065.00
Retainers, field representatives	13,377.68
Office rent	11,088.40
Stationery and supplies	336.58
Telephone and telegraph	2,584.01
Postage	240.00
Attorney fees	925.00
Accounting and auditing	1,407.95
Miscellaneous office expense	231.94
Insurance and fidelity bonds	20,483.19
Traveling expenses, officers' national committee	3,038.35
Traveling expenses, other	20,723.26
Organizational expenses in congressional districts	1,780.96
Promotion expenses	1,910.88
Publication, printing, purchasing of educational material	1.75
Collection charge	
 Total	114,694.95
Contributions	123,405.06
Cash in bank	8,710.11

Mr. COE. You will file that as soon as practicable?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir. As a matter of fact, we received from this committee the usual request for a formal report, and I have directed the young man on my right here, Mr. Creyke, to prepare it, and it will be filed in strict accordance with our desire and best ability

to do it. And I think your investigators, if they come to see our records, will find a well audited set of books that will pass the muster of you or anyone else. If that is not so, I want to make it so.

Mr. COE. Were any of those expenditures made for other than political activities?

Mr. HAYES. You mean throughout the whole course of this, or since the 10th day of September?

Mr. COE. Yes.

Mr. HAYES. None that I know of.

Mr. COE. Do you mean by that that all moneys expended have been in connection with the promotion of political activities?

Mr. HAYES. Organization work; travel.

Mr. COE. It is all for that same purpose?

Mr. HAYES. There is no other reason for the existence of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we leave the question of filing reports: Have you up to this time filed a report under the Corrupt Practices Act with the Clerk of the House of your receipts and expenditures?

Mr. HAYES. I do not know the answer to that. I have not.

Mr. HALFPENNY. No; it has not been filed. It will be filed, though, before the election.

Mr. HAYES. It is my purpose to see to it, in any way this committee or anyone else connected with Congress can direct me to do so—I would like to have direction, to be sure—that everything we do is in exact accordance with what the law requires everywhere.

Mr. COE. Have you made a budget for this year's activities?

Mr. HAYES. No, sir.

Mr. COE. You do not have a budget?

Mr. HAYES. Not now; no, sir. We may try to get up a budget tomorrow. I am not sure of that.

Mr. COE. Have you allotted any definite sum of money toward the political campaign this fall?

Mr. HAYES. No, sir; not any particular sum of money. As a matter of fact, any money we receive will be for the purpose of developing the type of organization which I have sought to describe to you here, in the districts in which we will operate.

Mr. COE. And you have, therefore, made no allotment to any territory or region?

Mr. HAYES. I do not know that there has been any particular allotment for a particular region; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Would such an allotment, if made, be made by direction of this council?

Mr. HAYES. It would be approved by the council ultimately; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Approved by the council?

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir; if it were made, when it was made. Everything I shall do will be reported and placed in the hands of this executive council, so that in the event you or anyone else authorized to do so desires to determine what has been done, it will be there of record for your determination.

Mr. COE. Just one other question along that line: has any plan been formulated for the solicitation of funds between now and election time for use in this activity of yours?

Mr. HAYES. None has been formulated; some have been discussed. That is one thing, and you are reminding me of some other things that may come up at the meeting tomorrow. I am sure my good friend Bob Christenberry has a plan which he will present there tomorrow. He sent it to me and I read it very hurriedly as I rode up on the train from Milwaukee last night.

Mr. COE. As to these contributions that have been made: how have they been solicited?

Mr. HAYES. Sometimes in person; sometimes by individuals. Away back, I do not know, but this is hearsay and I believe—I know more intimately, since the last 30 or 45 days, of the sending of communications to individuals, selected individuals. And, as a result of one or two letters sent out, we were the recipients of, I should say, from \$18,000 to \$20,000. And that is largely the money I referred to awhile ago from which we derived the \$12,000 we have on hand.

Mr. COE. I want to know if you have made any analysis or any schedule of the voting experience or voting records of any Members of Congress for use in your campaigns?

Mr. HAYES. No, sir. We have examined that made by certain other politically active organizations to determine what they have in mind, but we have not done it.

Mr. COE. To what organizations are you referring?

Mr. HAYES. PAC.

Mr. COE. Is that the CIO-PAC?

Mr. HAYES. Well, I always differentiate between the PAC and CIO, and there is a reason, if I may proffer it. I know some of the finest Americans who ever lived who are members of the CIO.

Mr. COE. Well, I was trying to find out the identity of the organization. There is an NCPAC, as I recall it, and a CIO-PAC.

Mr. HAYES. You are right, but I do not know how to differentiate between them.

Mr. COE. Which one are you referring to?

Mr. HAYES. I have a photostatic copy of a published article which gives the score sheet, which is the only score sheet I know of in the possession of anybody. Maybe there are others, but I know only of this one. There may be a number of others, but I have one which gives the score of how certain people, I think everybody in Congress, voted. That is all I know of.

Mr. COE. Was that the one contained in one of the CIO organization pamphlets?

Mr. HAYES. I believe so; I do not know. All I have is that portion of that particular publication.

Mr. COE. What use have you made of it?

Mr. HAYES. None, except to look it over to determine whether or not those are individuals in whom we are interested, or interested against, as favored or lacking the favor of that particular organization, as evidenced by that publication.

Mr. COE. How does the box score of that tabulation meet with the views of the members of your organization?

Mr. HAYES. I am not so sure of that; I do not know. I would draw the inference they would be pretty solidly against it, but I do not know. I believe that.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by that, that your organization would be pretty solidly against those that the PAC supported?

Mr. HAYES. I would think so, although there can be exceptions to that that I do not want to fail to note.

The CHAIRMAN. I was thinking only in general terms.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Generally, you would say that would be true?

Mr. HAYES. I would say that would be true; yes, sir.

PUBLICATIONS, RADIO BROADCASTS

Mr. COE. Has your organization, or any of its committees or officers or employees, assisted in preparing or furnishing any radio material for broadcast purposes, or have you used the radio as a means of campaigning up to this time?

Mr. HAYES. Not so far as I know. If there has been, it was long before I had anything to do with the organization. I do not know that. I have not.

Mr. COE. Has your organization made any publications at all for circulation?

Mr. HAYES. The answer to that is "No," since I have had charge of the organization. We have sought to expend our time and effort in the development of a practical organization within precincts and districts, to see to it that the people who vote are urged to do that particular thing. And I am not decrying anyone's efforts along the line of publication, but I felt that was the job we were supposed to do if I took charge of this thing.

Mr. COE. That is, to get them out to vote?

Mr. HAYES. And to vote for the people that we are in favor of, of course.

Mr. COE. That is right. And you do plan actively to support certain candidates and actively to oppose certain others in the coming election?

Mr. HAYES. That is right, sir.

Mr. COE. Do you have any plans formulated as to just how you can carry into effect those purposes, other than what you have already said?

Mr. HAYES. Other than what I have said, I do not have any. We have picked—and if this is repetition, I do not mean it to be that—the individuals themselves who will develop the organization within a particular district.

Mr. COE. Acting under your control?

Mr. HAYES. Not "control." We might advise and assist and encourage.

Mr. COE. Acting under your advice, encouragement, and assistance?

Mr. HAYES. That is right.

Mr. COE. They will select the persons they are going to support?

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

Mr. COE. Now, what will their plan of operation be, if you know?

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Mr. HAYES. Well, one plan I have recommended—I do not know that they will always follow it—is to get themselves a block organization of individuals who are filled with zeal and who will go into particular households and try to induce every American citizen to exercise

his right of franchise and, if it can be done right out in the open, to induce that particular citizen to exercise his right of franchise in favor of the individual whom we favor.

Mr. COE. That is what you term "a doorbell-ringing campaign"?

Mr. HAYES. That is right. And that is the only kind of practical political organization that I know of.

Mr. COE. How many persons do you contemplate will be needed for such a campaign; do you know?

Mr. HAYES. Volunteers. If they have a block-by-block organization, to the extent of the number that is necessary to have one for each block, if they go that far, and we will advocate that they go that far if they can do so.

Mr. COE. Is it contemplated that there will be paid workers, or volunteer workers?

Mr. HAYES. Volunteer workers.

Mr. COE. It is not anticipated you will spend money for that purpose?

Mr. HAYES. No, not by us; no. If it is done locally that is another situation.

Mr. COE. Will those persons acting locally report their expenditures to you?

Mr. HAYES. I do not anticipate that they will.

Mr. COE. Will they be financed through the finance board, or will they have their own financial set-up?

Mr. HAYES. Personally, some of them I know, will be working on their own without any relationship to us.

Mr. COE. Are these State persons organized, or are they more a group of one or two individuals who are doing the work in the States?

Mr. HAYES. There are probably more than one or two individuals. I can think of two or three, or four or five in another.

Mr. COE. Are they organized into a group, such as a corporation or an association? That is, do you have an organization within the State?

Mr. HAYES. I do not think so, although there may be in one instance. I would not want to be misunderstood; there may be one or two where that will be done.

Mr. COE. Do you know whether the State organizations have treasurers, and have independent bank accounts, have contributions to their own funds independent of yours?

Mr. HAYES. I do not know that they will. I am sure of the opinion that in some instances they will.

Mr. COE. You do not have any rules or regulations on that?

Mr. HAYES. Not as a formal action; it is autonomously financed, individually for the individual, particularly congressional districts.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your charter provide for State organizations or smaller organizations affiliated with the national organization?

Mr. HAYES. I am informed, Mr. Chairman, that it does, but there has not been any specific action along that line so far as I know. If there has been I am not familiar with it.

Mr. COE. Do you plan to contribute any funds to any individual candidate?

Mr. HAYES. No.

Mr. COE. Is there any other organization that you are working with in the support of any individual candidate?

Mr. HAYES. No.

Mr. COE. You have not done so to this time?

Mr. HAYES. No; except some of our own people.

Mr. COE. So that when you select the candidates you are going to support you do devise your own methods, and you are favorably disposed toward this doorbell-ringing campaign?

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

Mr. COE. And do I understand you have not determined on any other method of procedure?

Mr. HAYES. I have not. I do not know whether individuals have or not. I certainly have not.

Mr. COE. The American organization?

Mr. HAYES. Not the organization, so far as I know personally; certainly it did not at the September 10 meeting.

Mr. COE. Is that something to be taken up at the meeting tomorrow?

Mr. HAYES. It probably will be discussed; yes.

Mr. COE. And have you engaged in the printing or publication of or circulation of handbills at all to this time?

Mr. HAYES. No; there has been no publication since I took over; there has been no publication of any kind.

Mr. COE. Does your organization exchange data of a political nature with any other organization?

Mr. HAYES. If it does I do not know of it.

Mr. COE. Are you affiliated in any other way with any other political committee?

Mr. HAYES. It is not.

Mr. COE. Do you have control over any funds that are not in the hands of your organization's treasurer?

Mr. HAYES. No.

Mr. COE. In any way at all?

Mr. HAYES. In no way.

Mr. COE. Do you have an organization paper?

Mr. HAYES. No.

Mr. COE. I think I asked you a moment ago whether or not you do have a financial goal. Have you a financial goal that your organization is trying to reach?

Mr. HAYES. I have not formulated any set figure; frankly, no, sir. I did, and the record will show this, when you get it, I stated to two individuals that I thought that it would be well, before I took over the reins to have a nest egg of \$200,000. They never had any such amount, and it has not been attained.

Mr. COE. All right. Now has your organization engaged in the primary election this year or any activity in connection with them?

Mr. HAYES. So far as I know the answer is no. Probably a number of individuals have, but as an organization, no.

Mr. COE. Will you indulge me a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. While counsel is so engaged—as I understood your answer to him a few minutes ago with reference to any other affiliation, it would be no. Is that correct?

Mr. HAYES. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not affiliated with any other organization?

Mr. HAYES. We are not. Other organizations deal with us, but we are not affiliated, I mean, with members of other organizations. There is no affiliation whatsoever.

EXPENDITURES

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you this question on a different subject. You stated that before you indicated—before you took over the reins of this organization you thought there should be a nest egg of about \$200,000. You have also stated to the committee that up to this time you have made no contributions to candidates or to any group sponsoring candidates, and that you plan to emphasize the doorbell-ringing campaign. My question is, With all that preliminary, why would you need a nest egg of \$200,000 to begin with for a campaign of that sort?

Mr. HAYES. It was just a wild estimate. I did not have any idea how many places or how many congressional districts—frankly I had in mind around 40 might be involved in the whole United States of America, and I felt that with all of the organization expenses, and so on, and all the preliminaries, that it might take an average, roughly, of \$5,000 for a congressional district. It did not eventuate. It has not developed, and the figure is purely one, and when you do read the record which I will send, you will find it verifies my statement that it was my intention that I wanted it to be such that it was a worthwhile, not a fly-by-night organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, Mr. Harris and I and perhaps every member of this committee, as you know, are limited under the Corrupt Practices Act to \$2,500 in our congressional district. The top maximum is \$5,000 in the heavily populated, based on the total vote.

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are estimating about twice as much for your activities on the basis of your estimate, as we can spend, are permitted to spend under the Corrupt Practices Act.

Mr. HAYES. I can understand that would be the equation you would reach, and I would, too, in your position. Of course, what we do involves such as traveling expenses, and items of that kind make up a part of the basic figure, and we have not contemplated the allocation of any such figure to each particular congressional district.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course it costs a candidate to travel over his district during election also.

Mr. HAYES. If I may interpose this statement off the record.

(Off record discussion.)

Mr. HARRIS. Are you supporting Mr. O'Neal?

Mr. HAYES. He is a very dear friend of mine. We are not interested in any way. He does not even know that I am in this so far as I know.

Mr. COE. Mr. Hayes, there have been a number of newspaper articles recently on your organization. Some of the reports have been touched upon in your testimony. This is an article in the Chicago Sun of October 7, which mentions the figure of 1,000,000 reportedly raised. You have stated there was no such sum. And you mentioned that the American Action enjoys such sponsors as the following:

Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board, Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Mr. Weir, Ernest T. Weir, chairman of the board of the Weirton Steel Co.; Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune; Lammot du Pont, director of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.; Merwin K. Hart, Upton Close, and so on. Are they members of your organization?

Mr. HAYES. Gen. Robert E. Wood is a member of the organization. I do not know Mr. Weir. I know who he is, and I do not have the du Pont you have in mind.

Mr. COE. It says Lammot du Pont. I do not have anyone in mind; I am just reading what it says here.

Mr. HAYES. Of course, Merwin K. Hart is a member of the organization.

Mr. COE. On the national executive council.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Hart is. General Wood is.

Mr. COE. They are both on the council?

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

Mr. COE. I do not have the list before me.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, IDENTIFICATION

The CHAIRMAN. While you are on that subject, if I may interject a request again, when you give us that list, of the members of the executive council, or committee—you gave a statement about some of them. We do not have the identification of all of the names. They are not all familiar to me. Could you further identify them for that record?

Mr. HAYES. We will do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the names and some of the identifications on these individuals.

Mr. HAYES. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. There are names on there I do not exactly place; some of them at least.

Mr. HAYES. To the best of my memory there is one gentleman on here whom I have never seen. I think I know who he is.

I think you know who Edward A. Hayes is.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYES. Robert Christenberry is chairman of the legislative committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He is a marine who lost his left hand and part of his arm in the other World War, the first war. He is president of the Astor Hotel Corp. and a director in several others. He originated, I believe, down in your State, Mr. Chairman, and later came to my State, and he became vice chairman of this organization.

Gen. Robert E. Wood: I think you know who he is and what his background is; he is chairman of Sears Roebuck & Co. board. And he is a grand person, from my experience with him.

Earl Harding of the city of New York. He is a veteran. I had never met him until 4 or 5 months ago. He is a writer, and what other things he does I do not know about.

Mr. Malcolm McDermott is head of the law department of the great Duke University in North Carolina.

Mr. Robert M. Harriss is a cotton broker who originated in Texas and who lives in New York.

Edward D. Gray is a former colonel in the Air Corps in this war, whose background other than that I do not know too well, although I have had a good deal to do with him in the course of the last 2 or 3 months.

Mrs. Neva Bethel is secretary of the organization: she is from California. She has had a good deal to do with patriotic organiza-

tions on the west coast. I only met her for the first time several months ago.

Merwin K. Hart is the man who preceded me as chairman of this organization; he is from up-State New York. He is a former member of the New York Legislature. He is a veteran of World War I, and I have met him for the first time 4 or 5 months ago, the same as I had some of the other people here.

R. E. Minnis, Jr., is the one I have not met, so far as I know. I understand he is from Wichita, Kans.

Mr. J. E. McDonald is head of the Department of Agriculture of the great State of Texas, just recently reelected down there for the fifth term—a grand old gentleman.

Mr. James H. Gipson is from the State of Idaho. He is, as I am informed, head of a rather large printing business out there and a publisher. I have been in correspondence with him and have talked with him over the telephone, but I have not been otherwise identified with him.

Mr. Robert E. Condon is just recently out of uniform, having served in both wars. He was a colonel in the Air Corps, whose decorations would emblazon his shirt front, if he were to don them, but better than that he has been very active in the organization. He was formerly the county commander of the American Legion. He directed all of the American Legion convention activities when we had that massive convention in New York City in 1937. He was chairman of my committee when I was head of the veterans' organization, and we have engaged in activities and associated in matters similar to one another for many, many years. He is a former member of the executive committee of the American Veterans Organization.

Those are the ones named on the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. COE. Do you refer to a person as being a member of the organization who is not an officer, or who does not belong on the executive council; is he considered a member?

Mr. HAYES. It is difficult for me to differentiate between someone who was a member of the organization and someone who participated in its objectives in a particular congressional district. Therefore if I refer to such individuals in the latter category as a member of the organization I mean to use the term "a member" in the sense that he is one who participated in that particular congressional district, but in a particular objective.

Mr. COE. Although he does not have any direct membership in your organization?

Mr. HAYES. That is correct.

PUBLICATIONS

Mr. COE. There have been newspaper articles mentioning literature of American Action. The Chicago Sun mentioned this.

Literature of American Action, which has been circulated only among a select group, follows the well-known line of blanketing the opposition as "Communists," "alien," and "internationalists."

And in another place another article mentions the literature. I do not have it right before me. But you say that American Action has no literature, and no publication?

Mr. HAYES. If it refers to a printed statement which I have seen, but which has never been released for publication, and which I personally have withdrawn from usage, then I know what you are talking about. I know of no other piece of literature of any character which bears the name of American Action.

Mr. COE. Let me quote as follows:

One pamphlet of American Action says:

"Appeasement of radicals and compromise with radicalism in America have followed the European pattern, until today leftist minorities terrorize and dictate to Congress and to legislatures.

"Leftists largely fill many key Government offices, local and national.

"Leftists largely control American movies and the American theater; and to a larger extent the radio. Many radio commentators regularly disparage America and glorify Marxist doctrine.

"A large percentage of news writers are leftists in bond to the CIO-Communists-tinged newspaper guild. So many book reviewers are leftists that rightist books are most often ignored or smeared."

You know of no such publication containing such language?

Mr. HAYES. There was a piece of literature which, as soon as I saw it, I questioned its usage and I recently directed the organization, in so far as I could do so, to the effect that it was never to be used.

Mr. HARRIS. Can you state whether or not it was used before you assumed the direct head of the organization?

Mr. HAYES. I do not know that it was used to any extent. I know it has not been released for publication since then. That is the only one I know of.

Mr. COE. Do you know how widely it was circulated?

Mr. HAYES. It could not have been very widely circulated.

The CHAIRMAN. And since you took over, to your knowledge, you know it has not been circulated.

Mr. HAYES. They have been directed that it be stopped everywhere, and it will be stopped, and I do not know of any use of and personally I do not know the name American Action designated any other literature. If it did I do now know about it myself. I do not know about the things that are stated in that particular publication.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not want to take the position that most newspaper people were leftists?

Mr. HAYES. I would say directly to the contrary, because in my years of intimacy and association with them I know they are not.

Mr. COE. There is another article that mentions the New York conference, this year, that was held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Was that a meeting prior to the time you became the head of the organization?

Mr. HAYES. It was long prior to the time I became the head of the organization. I do not know what you refer to, if there was such a meeting.

Mr. COE. An estimated \$205,000 was reported to have been pledged there. That is not correct?

Mr. HAYES. If you are reading from the newspaper, I do not know the source. I know there was no \$200,000 ever obtained from any source, anywhere, at any time, by the organization.

Mr. COE. Nor pledged; no pledge of money in that sum.

Mr. HAYES. That is right, so far as I know; and there was no such pledge in any such form.

Mr. COE. And these articles refer so many times to a purge list of 187 Congressmen. You say that is absolutely not correct?

Mr. HAYES. That is completely not correct.

Mr. COE. And as I understood your statement, you have no purge list formulated to this time.

Mr. HAYES. That is my statement, and so far as I am concerned, there will be no purge list in the sense of getting rid of people. We will have some one we are against, or some one we are for, based entirely upon what I have said to you—their adherence, or their lack of adherence, to what we conceive to be the American ideals, and nothing else.

Mr. COE. I think that is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

POLICY OF ORGANIZATION

Mr. HARRIS. As head of your organization, and of course being familiar with the policies of your organization, what is your definition of "Americanism"?

Mr. HAYES. The complete adherence to the fundamentals stated in the basic laws of the United States of America.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course, that is a pretty broad term.

Mr. HAYES. Yes; that is right.

Mr. HARRIS. I know most of us are considered to be good Americans, patriotic citizens, and we hear a lot of talk about American ideals, and adherence to American ideals, and Americanism, here and there. We had that question up in Congress about 2 years ago, and there was quite a debate on just what a true definition of "Americanism" is; and if I recall correctly, we had to spell out the definition of Americanism in connection with the investigation into four individuals. You probably know something about that.

Mr. HAYES. Yes; I am familiar with it.

Mr. HARRIS. I wondered if your organization had any such definition.

Mr. HAYES. I should answer you, Mr. Harris, with the statement that during twenty-odd years of attempting to define that particular term I have had the same difficulty trying to say within a few words all of the things that are embraced, that you have had, and that the Congress has had, and everyone has had.

I think it was Dean Wigmore who wrote on one page, at one time, words which define more clearly and more definitely a complete definition of Americanism than anywhere else I have seen it; and yet, an analysis by you, I am sure, would indicate some things have been left out of it, because it took a long time for the people to conceive what is embraced in our form of government and to write into the basic laws all the things that needed to be safeguarded and all of the things that I want to be retained in it, as an American. And, unfortunately, too many of us, including your humble servant, have not always understood, as much as we want to know them, what is involved. Too many people who are purged are accused of things that they did not know and acted on some basis which they did not understand.

There comes a time when America has got to have people who will study, as you men have, and as the great big majority of Congress on both sides has, the basic concepts of our Government, and their adher-

ence to them. And when we find people willing just to win over an organization, or a set of individuals, however well their intentions, and take steps as Congress which in our humble judgment would lead to the disruption of the basic concepts of the things we feel so strongly about, that is what impels us to go into an organization like American Action.

I wish I could define it. I have attempted to do so many times—to define Americanism. I have got to come back to the basic laws and refer to something outside of the terminology that I use, because to try to include in any one set of words a complete definition of the great term, with all of its meaning, is a most difficult task. It means individualism as opposed to stateism. It means liberty as opposed to someone who wants to take away liberty. It means the protection of the minority even as against the majority, particularly those things in our basic laws. It means so many things that I hesitate to do more than I did a moment ago—to say it is a complete adherence to the basic laws of the United States of America.

Mr. HARRIS. Do you consider all of those matters when you determine when a man believes in American ideals—of those who believe in them?

Mr. HAYES. Mostly; not all of them. Usually we go into a variety of things. Sometimes probably we may be opposed to a man who adheres to all of those things but who practices other things.

Mr. HARRIS. It is possible for a man to believe in the American ideals, adhere to what he believes to be literally his concept of the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and yet be in disagreement with your viewpoint.

Mr. HAYES. That is right.

Mr. HARRIS. Yes; and of your organization.

Mr. HARRIS. And in determining the candidate that your organization may support, or may oppose, do you have a basis on which you show, in the way of designating that particular candidate, the language, whether progressive, conservative, or do you use any other terminology?

Mr. HAYES. I would say not. I will give you an illustration why I think we have a basic for determining it, in the particular communities themselves. The people use their own judgment, first with relation to the particular individual.

I just came here from Milwaukee last night. That instance, I think, illustrates as well as anything I can the need for some sort of organization as this one is conceived to be.

Mr. HARRIS. Will you tell us about it?

Mr. HAYES. Well, to the limit of my ability I will; yes. It is pretty difficult, it is rather confusing, when you get up there and find that the great party, the Democratic Party, had selected a man, as against a city congressman, a man named Wasielewski, another individual, and within a very short time after that individual was nominated by that party against the present incumbent, we found that the State chairman—whose name is Bevins, or some such name—reported to be dealing with the national chairman, and the determination of that locality that the Democratic leadership should favor the support of this man whom they had apparently determined was a Communist.

That is the Democratic nominee. And publicly they stated that they would no longer support him; and I think that is the record up there. Now we have the son of the former Democratic chairman of Wisconsin, Bill Callahan, handling our affairs for us in that area and the determination there of whom we will support, to be sure that an individual that has been designated by the responsible hands of his own party is at least designated—whether he is or not—of communistic tendencies. Some of those people accuse him of being one. I do not know. That, to me, spelled the need for, and was an apt illustration of, the need for this type of an organization.

Now, won't you have such an apt illustration in other places. I do not know. But you have got it there. You have got some ideas about whom they should support up there. I would not know, but I would like for you to have some individual down here, no matter what their political affiliation, whom none of us would have any basis for even suspecting of his affiliation with that kind of an organization.

Mr. HARRIS. Do you feel that your organization can go in there and straighten out a difficult situation like that between the local people?

Mr. HAYES. We can help, sir, because we can get both sides of it; we can bring both sides to it. I have been a lifelong Republican. He has been a lifelong Democrat. Callahan is a lifelong Democrat. There are many Democrats connected with this particular organization so that the good faith of this bi-partisanship can be established. No one can question the background of Mr. MacDonald, for instance; nor, I assume, Judge McDermott, of North Carolina. I do not know, I have never asked him, but that particular instance, in my honest judgment, illustrates better than anything I can say to you the occasion for the existence of this type of an organization. If we misuse it or abuse it or do some things wrong about it, I for one, will want to be corrected before I do that wrong. I do not want to do anything wrong to anybody.

Mr. HARRIS. As I gather from your testimony, you set up a national organization and you hope to decentralize the activities of that organization by affiliating with local people in various sections of the country?

Mr. HAYES. As long as I am the director of the organization or the head of it I will insist with all the fervor I can command that that plan shall be followed; yes, sir.

Mr. HARRIS. Of course, in practical application I suppose you know that that is about the plan followed by the CIO-PAC and the NCPAC?

Mr. HAYES. I have no objection, whatsoever, sir, to their doing that thing, because I think many of the things that they have done might well be taken as a bible for people in political activities everywhere, because of their effectiveness.

Mr. HARRIS. It is not a fact, then, that you decide on a candidate in a particular district and you try to find out what the background of that candidate is, learn all you can about him, and then go into that district and try to contact the people who live there and see if you can get their support of your viewpoint, and later let them announce that your local organization is supporting that candidate?

Mr. HAYES. I can go along with that statement almost a hundred percent, sir, with this exception—that if it is not their viewpoint, I

shall not attempt to thrust mine upon them. If I find that theirs and mine are identical and they are willing to go ahead and develop with the zeal that they will have to have in this kind of an organization, where it will be mostly volunteer work, then I will say "Yes" to your question.

Mr. HARRIS. Then if they did not have the same viewpoint on that particular candidate that you had, you would not forget about them and go look for someone else that did?

Mr. HAYES. I would not, because I am going to select the best people I know of from the experience that has been mine, both from my organization work with patriotic organizations and in my political activity.

Mr. HARRIS. I judge from your testimony that your membership is rather limited at this time?

Mr. HAYES. That word "limited" might imply that there are not very many people that are interested in what we are doing, and I would not want to imply that. I have talked to many people. I know there is a great interest in it. But as to the number of individuals who have been approached in particular States, I can say in that sense the term "limited" is applicable. As to activities within those States, the answer is "Yes."

Mr. HARRIS. Do you consider that your organization is a veterans' organization?

Mr. HAYES. No, sir; except that I happen to know—at the expense of repetition, I happen to know you do not need to sell people who have been in veterans' organizations for 25 or 27 years on the principles involving American ideals. That is one thing on which all the outstanding veterans' organizations agree, without any question, every time, everywhere, in all of their resolutions and all of their statements.

Mr. HARRIS. Would you say that that same viewpoint applies to all existing veterans' organizations now?

Mr. HAYES. There is one of them I do not know much about, Congressman, and I have to speak from hearsay on that. I do not know that it adheres to the same ideals, of the ones I have in mind and with which I am familiar.

Mr. HARRIS. It was not the purpose of my question to—

Mr. HAYES. I understand; but there is one of them that I am not sure of; I do not know.

Mr. HARRIS. I judge from what you said a moment ago, in endeavoring to provide this committee with certain information as to whom you shall support and whom you shall oppose, that there is certain other information, particularly with reference to your plans, that you came down here just a day too early to be able to give us.

Mr. HAYES. That is probably true, sir. The chairman will tell you that I asked him—and he was very gracious to me last Friday—at least, I asked Miss Taylor, whoever she is, the clerk of the committee—and she was very gracious to me; I later talked with the chairman and tried to make an arrangement to come down on Thursday or Friday of this week. I wanted to be able to do what you have in mind. And, if I may say it with everything in my being, I want to say this to you—that whatever we do, you are entitled to know it, to have the knowledge of whatever we do, because we want to do all that we are supposed to do under the law, and we want to do it exactly as it should be done, and in no other way.

Mr. HARRIS. You will be in a position to come to the committee later and give the committee information you will have at that time?

Mr. HAYES. I will give you that information that I acquire from any meeting or any committee that has anything to do with this, any time you ask it.

Mr. HARRIS. I would like to ask one other question, purely for information; and I think it is pertinent because of the numerous reports that we have had. Is your committee in any way connected or associated with or a successor to the so-called America First Committee?

Mr. HAYES. The answer to that is unequivocally "no," sir. I personally was in uniform on the 17th day of July 1941. And while I know some of these people—that is, I learned; I never even thought of it until I saw it in this newspaper, that they were reported to have an association with that organization. I never did know—and I do not mean to say that I am condemning anybody. I do not even know what their principles were. I am not condemning them. I just do not know. The answer is "no"; we had nothing to do with it, and this organization is not in any sense and will not be a successor to anything.

Mr. HARRIS. As I recall, the America First Committee was headed by one Gerald K. Smith. I guess you know of him?

Mr. HAYES. I know of him. I have heard about him a great deal.

Mr. HARRIS. Does he have any connection or association with your organization?

Mr. HAYES. None whatsoever, sir.

Mr. HARRIS. There are members of your council who are active in your organization who are also members of our organization, that you know of?

Mr. HAYES. Not that I know of. It has been stated that one or two of them did belong. I am reminded, at my left, that it was an entirely different organization. I just do not know, truthfully. If the man you name, Smith, is the head of an organization now, I do not even know the nature of it. I did learn something about an organization that was at one time headed or at least partially headed by a fellow named Verne Marshall, one of the great newspapermen, who is dead now, used to be from Cedar Rapids, and a number of other fellows who were friends of mine belonged to that organization, before we got into it at all. I do not know anything about what goes on about one now. I was in about almost 4 years. I went in in July of 1941, and I had nothing to do with it and this organization has nothing whatsoever to do with either one of them if there are two such organizations.

Mr. HARRIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Harris has asked two questions, right at the conclusion of his questioning, that I had in mind to ask. Since those have been cleared up, I just have one or two other questions. You stated, I believe, if I have the States listed correctly, that you are currently active in Missouri, Oklahoma, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, California, and Washington; is that correct?

Mr. HAYES. The activity in California I do not know about. In Washington, yes. And, Mr. Chairman, I want to record this. I anticipate tomorrow that we will have a report about certain things that have been done in the East and I might be able to add to that.

I can say to you, if you have in mind prognosis, my own thought is that we had in mind several other States in the Midwest but we just have not been able to get into them all. We know that there was groundwork laid for them and if there is money made available and we have the opportunity, even in the last 3 weeks, we may go into those.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already stated that you would furnish the committee with the action of the council tomorrow, the minutes and any list of candidates that might be agreed upon at that time.

Mr. HAYES. Yes, sir. The minutes will be made available. All the minutes will be made available at any time you want them.

The CHAIRMAN. Earlier in your testimony you indicated that there might have been organized already—you were not sure—a State organization of American Action. If you find that that is true, in your meeting tomorrow or at any time in the future, would you ask your office to supply us with the names of the officers of this State organization?

Mr. HAYES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And any other that might be subsequently organized, at any time within the near future?

Mr. HAYES. I have asked my associates to see that that is done, and they are making a note of it. And it will be done; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Coe, do you have any further questions?

Mr. COE. I think not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your coming. I might supplement what you said in the beginning, or just a few moments ago, that you had expressed a preference to appear later in the week after your meeting of tomorrow. I want that clear for the record, that you made such a suggestion to the committee, but the committee could not be in session at that time. We regret that you have had travel difficulties and that we had to hold this night session. We appreciate your testimony.

Mr. HAYES. I am particularly grateful to you for this opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned at this time. (Whereupon the committee adjourned to meet on Wednesday, October 16, 1946, at 2 p. m.)

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